OCTOBER 1937

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BY WANG MING

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Two Years of Struggle for the Anti-Fascist People's Front

WE ALL remember the enthusiasm with which our World Congress, two years ago, decided that the struggle for the formation of a united proletarian and anti-fascist People's Front was the central task of the policy of the Communist International. In the two years following this decision, the chief concern of the Communist International has been how to unite the ranks of the working class, the peasantry, all working people and all supporters of democracy, on the basis of a broad united front to fight against reaction, fascism and war.

Two years is too short a time in which to look for *decisive victories* in such a far-reaching matter of world policy. But it is quite long enough to verify in practice the *vitality and opportuneness* of a given political slogan. The correctness of the slogan of the working class united front and of the anti-fascist People's Front has already been tested and proved in practice in many countries. This is something that nobody can dispute, but those who do not shrink from challenging obvious facts.

Two years ago, it was a different matter. At that time, there was no lack of wiseacres who were ready to believe in magic sooner than in the possibility of forming a People's Front. At that time the People's Front did not exist in a single country. Among the working class, it is true, one could at that time already sense in a number of countries a spontaneous urge towards unity, but France was the only country where, just before the Seventh Congress, there had been formed a real united front of the working class, to which other sections of the working people were being drawn. Let us not forget in this regard the powerful demonstrations of July, 1935.

This movement in France already signalized "the beginning of a broad national People's Front against fascism." (Dimitroff.) But it was only after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, in 1936, that the People's Front in France finally took shape, and that after the victory of the democratic forces at the parliamentary elections in May, a government based on the People's Front was formed.

Comrade Dimitroff in his speeches at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International showed that, in view of the growing danger of fascism and war, it was essential that unity of action be established between the proletariat and the wide masses of the people. Condemning all sectarian and capitulatory tendencies, he shattered the rotten theory of "the inevitability of the victory of fascism," pointing out that the question of defeating fascism resolved itself into a *question of struggle*, the united mass struggle of the working people. Addressing himself to all the millions of working people, Comrade Dimitroff spoke these words:

"Yes, comrades, the road in the way of fascism can be blocked. It is quite possible. It depends on ourselves—on the workers, the peasants and all the toilers!

"Whether the victory of fascism can be prevented depends *in the first place* on the militant activity displayed by the working class itself, on whether its

forces are welded into a single militant army combatting the offensive of capitalism and fascism. . . .

"*Second*, it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the toilers against fascism. . . .

"*Third*, it depends on whether a correct policy is pursued by the working class towards the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois masses of the towns. . . .

"*Fourth*, it depends on whether the revolutionary proletariat exercises vigilance and takes action at the proper time. . . ."*

The revolutionary workers of France showed in practice that they realized the importance of the policy of the People's Front as the chief condition for preventing the growth and victory of fascism.

They soon succeeded in extending the united proletarian front, which had come into being in the sphere of the political struggle, to the sphere of the economic struggle, as well. They soon succeeded in achieving trade union unity. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, it was still necessary for Comrade Dimitroff to warn the French comrades against forgetting "the organizational weakness of the French working class movement which facilitates the success of the fascist offensive," but once unity had been achieved, the French trade unions developed with amazing rapidity into the strongest trade union army of any of the capitalist countries, an army of five millions. This army provides a strong proletarian basis on which the anti-fascist People's Front is developing successfully in France, on the initiative of the Communist Party.

The People's Front has saved France from fascist barbarism. The People's Front has enabled millions of workers and office employees to defend themselves against the onslaught of capital and to obtain higher wages. It won a shortening of the working week and brought about the passing of social legislation, which had been practically non-existent in France. The People's Front also brought some aid to the French peasants. These results are, of course, only a beginning, but one fact is absolutely clear: *without* the People's Front, the working people of France not only would have failed to obtain any help or any protection from the state but, on the contrary, the reactionary bourgeoisie, with the aid of fascism, would have deprived them of all their rights, ruthlessly trampled their interests underfoot, and brutally suppressed their organizations and their movement. Without the People's Front, the French people would have suffered the same fate as the German people.

The indisputable successes of the People's Front in France do not at all mean that the fascist menace has been overcome in that country. For it is on fascism that big business is relying, while increasing its intrigues and utilizing the fact that the most important measures provided for in the program of the People's Front to ward off the fascist menace—in particular the banning of the fascist organizations, and the purging of the army and the state machine from violent reactionaries and fascists—have not yet been carried out.

The French system of taxation, which weighs so heavily on the working population, has still not been overhauled; on the contrary, a whole series of new burdens have been imposed on the people, although obviously the task of strengthening the People's Front demands the policy that "the rich be made to pay." The constant financial intrigues of the reactionary bourgeoisie against the government and the people also show that the People's Front has a stubborn fight to wage against reaction and fascism.

It cannot be otherwise, for the entire purpose of the People's Front is to carry this fight to a victorious finish.

If the reactionary bourgeoisie in France succeeded in bringing about the resignation of the first government which emerged from the People's Front, they

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* All quotations taken from *Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Fascism*, by Georgi Dimitroff, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

did so because this government would not work consistently and resolutely to carry out the historic mission of the People's Front. The half-heartedness and the indecision of the Blum government were shown both in their Spanish policy and in the carrying out of the program of the People's Front. The new Chautemps government is also a government basing itself on the People's Front, but its fate depends on how far it will act resolutely in carrying out the program of the People's Front.

The French Communist Party is acting rightly in loyally supporting the Chautemps government as it supported the Blum government, while at the same time never ceasing to combat those tendencies within the People's Front (the Right elements of the Radical and Socialist Parties), which are aiming at a return to a coalition government of the old type. It is obvious that a government of this kind, having no mass basis, and owing its existence purely to parliamentary combinations, would inevitably pave the way for a Right reactionary government and facilitate the victory of fascism.

In order to prevent a turn of affairs so favorable to fascism, an unceasing struggle must be carried on to consolidate the People's Front to the maximum degree, both politically and organizationally, and twofold vigilance observed with regard to those elements which are endeavoring to disrupt the People's Front from within, to those forces which are doing everything to bring about the formation of a government which shall not be based on the People's Front and shall not be bound by the program of the People's Front.

* * *

In Spain, more clearly even than in France, the People's Front is acting as the savior of the people from fascist barbarism.

At the time of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the Spanish people were absolutely defenseless under the rule of the capitalists and landowners. The fascists had already penetrated into the government, but the working class had not as yet overcome the after-effects of the defeat they had suffered in the battles of the previous year (the chief organ of the Communist Party, for instance, had to be published illegally).

At the beginning of 1936, during the election campaign, an anti-fascist People's Front was formed on the initiative of the Spanish Communist Party. This took the form of workers' and peasants' alliances, and was the decisive step which led to the victory of the supporters of the democratic republic at the February elections to the Cortes.

The forces of reaction and fascism lost their support in the government, and so, acting at the dictates of German and Italian fascism, they secretly planned a rebellion against the lawful government of the republic, which had the support of the great majority of the people. Herein lay their weakness, and this was immediately revealed at the outbreak of the revolt in July, and enabled the masses of the people in Madrid, Barcelona, and a great part of Spain, unprepared and very poorly armed as they were, to crush the revolt of the generals' detachments which were armed to the teeth.

This began the heroic stage of the anti-fascist People's Front in Spain. In accordance with the military revolutionary situation in Spain, the government of the People's Front is leading the fight of the Spanish people against fascism. The rich experience acquired in Spain, both at the fronts and in the rear of the struggle conducted by the people against the fascists and interventionists, is of incalculable importance for the entire international anti-fascist movement.

At the same time, valuable experience has been acquired in Spain in the fight to overcome the internal difficulties of the People's Front, particularly the half-way policy and indecision of the government of the People's Front. The difficulties which were created by Largo Caballero and his followers, while the previous government was in office, are no secret. The grave mistakes in military policy

countenanced by them actually assisted the advance of the fascist troops.

Largo Caballero fought long and stubbornly against the formation of a regular people's army and the introduction of compulsory military service, hurling the sectarian reproach against the Communists that they were "restoring the old army." He fought against the formation of a single command in the army and against the cleaning out of patently treacherous officers from the staff. Blindly trusting in their advice, he even opposed the erection of fortifications around Madrid, when the fascist troops were approaching the city. He neglected to ensure order in the rear, where bandits from Franco's Fifth Column, including Trotskyites and all sorts of lawless elements, were active. Instead, he devoted his energies to a factional struggle against the Communists, even going so far as to weaken the fighting capacity of the people's army, of which the Communists already were the backbone, especially on the central front.

Thus it turned out that a government, the head of which was incapable of grasping the decisive importance of the People's Front, and who placed his own factional interests above the interests of the general anti-fascist struggle, could not create the necessary conditions for victory. The change of government undoubtedly improved the leadership of the national struggle. In spite of the considerably increased numbers of Italian and German interventionist troops in Spain, the heroic republican units succeeded on practically all fronts, not only in repelling the enemy's offensive with increased vigor, but also in undertaking energetic and successful counter-attacks.

The internal difficulties of the People's Front in Spain, however, are still far from being disposed of. The necessary replacement of Largo Caballero's government was accompanied by the refusal of the Anarchist ministers to hold office, these preferring Caballero's factional struggle against the Communists to a united, solid and consistent struggle against the fascists. The central leadership of the Anarchist trade unions refused to support the new government and dallies on the one hand with the group belonging to the "insulted" Caballero and, on the other hand, with the Trotskyites, the ill-disguised agents of Franco.

This irresponsible conduct on the part of a number of Anarchist leaders is no accident, as neither was their struggle against the formation of a disciplined regular people's army, the introduction of a single command, and the maintenance of order in the rear. It is characteristic also that while Socialists like Caballero underestimated the role of the peasantry as a necessary ally of the proletariat, the Anarchist committees in the villages, by their methods of compulsory collectivization, directly stirred up the peasantry against the proletariat. In a whole series of negative steps of this kind, the typical duality of Anarchism revealed itself with definite clarity —more clearly than ever before: on the one hand, its ultra-radical anti-capitalist program and, on the other, a practical policy of disorganization, which is a menace, not to capitalism and to fascism, but to the struggle of the workers and working people generally.

Fortunately, this practical policy of the Anarchists soon betrayed its own utter bankruptcy, as the experience of Spain has shown. Gradually the Anarchist leadership has been obliged to retreat from its incorrect line. The overwhelming majority of the rank-and-file Anarchist workers, guided by their class instinct, have long since found the right way—to fight side by side with the other workers, united and unyielding, against their fascist enemies. The majority of the Anarchist trade unions are solidly behind the People's Front. It is to be hoped that the central leadership of the Anarchist organizations, too, will finally join the solid militant united front of the proletariat and all the anti-fascist forces.

The Spanish People's Front is now well-enough steeled to be able to face the difficulties ahead without fear, and

not to flinch before any dangers. But to ensure victory over the fascist rebels and the German and Italian interventionists calls for the speedy overcoming of the existing internal difficulties, an all-round strengthening of the People's Front, and the inclusion in its ranks of all genuine anti-fascist forces.

* * *

The People's Front does not yet exist in other countries in such a developed and definite form as in France and Spain, but the idea of the People's Front has found supporters everywhere, and in the majority of countries one can already see the beginnings of a People's Front movement or at least the germs of this movement.

The position is weakest in the fascist countries like Germany and Italy. It is true that here conditions are difficult, since they do not admit of an *open* anti-fascist movement. But it is wrong to say that these countries have lacked the preconditions for a People's Front. The mass basis of fascism has become narrowed; discontent is spreading among increasingly broad sections of the oppressed masses of the people, not only the working population, but even the middle class, while great numbers of conscious anti-fascists of all trends of opinion are filled with deep hatred for the fascist government. All this feeling exists, but there is no vital effort at *uniting* all the forces of the people against fascist oppression. Efforts are being made to establish anti-fascist unity of action among the emigrants. A united front agreement exists between the Communist and Socialist Parties of Italy, but this agreement operates more among Italians in France and Spain than in Italy itself. There is also a "Committee for the Preparation of a German People's Front," but its activities are almost exclusively confined to work among emigrés. This obviously will not lead anywhere. The anti-fascist refugee forces can of course render valuable service to the development of the People's Front movement, but their work should be of an auxiliary character, while the *center* of the work of developing the People's Front should function in Germany itself, in the heart of the many millions of people who daily feel the cursed yoke of fascist slavery.

Whereas in the countries of bourgeois democracy the task of the People's Front is to prevent fascism from coming to power—in the fascist countries, on the other hand, the aim of the People's Front is to overthrow fascism which is actually in power, and uses all state methods of force to crush every open anti-fascist movement at its very inception, before it has time to develop and gain strength. Hence it is obvious that the forms and slogans natural to the People's Front movement, say in France, are not at all suitable to Germany. In Hitler Germany, specially appropriate forms and slogans must be found. Since it is impossible to start the movement by coming out into the open, then, besides carrying on illegal agitation and establishing semi-legal contacts, legal forms of movements must be tried, forms which *bear no resemblance* to the anti-fascist movement (and, above all, not to the French People's Front), but which will gradually lead the masses to opposition and resistance to the policy of the fascist government.

Obviously the supporters in Germany of the idea of the People's Front have not yet mastered this initial point. But they must do so, otherwise the result will be not a People's Front movement, but utterly useless attempts, not devoid of danger, at imitating the French movement.

The demand that the policy of the People's Front be correctly adapted to specific conditions applies of course not only to the fascist countries.

"In every country," said Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress, "it is necessary to investigate, study, and find out the peculiarly national features fascism takes, and plan effective methods and forms of struggle accordingly to fight fascism." Knowing that this in practice is a difficult task, requiring special care, Comrade Dimitroff lashed out against those comrades who, "suffering from

mental sloth," "instead of a detailed and careful study of the *concrete* situation and relation of class forces, indulge in general formulas which mean nothing."

The experience of two years has everywhere confirmed the great importance of this demand for the most careful application of the policy of the People's Front in accordance with the specific conditions in the different countries. It has turned out in a number of countries that even where a fully correct concrete form of the movement, or a correct slogan, has been found, we must not give ourselves over to "mental sloth," but have a keen eye to changing circumstances so as correspondingly to supplement or replace the old forms and slogans by new ones.

Thus, for instance, in the U.S.A. it has latterly proved necessary to combine the work for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party, which was laid down by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern as the specific form the People's Front should take in America, with the simultaneous development of the progressive movements connected with the Democratic Party. Why? Because account had to be taken of the requirements of the situation which had arisen as a result of several important events such as: the very extensive movement of the masses of the people in connection with the presidential elections, in support of the candidature of Roosevelt against the reactionary candidate; the great strike wave which followed; and the springing up of a new progressive trade union movement (led by the Committee of Industrial Organization) which is politically close to the Left wing of the Democratic Party.

Thus the great mass of the progressive and radical elements which can already be drawn into the anti-fascist People's Front movement are supporters of the Democratic Party and are unwilling to break with it. The People's Front movement would isolate itself from these masses if we were now to insist that the Farmer-Labor Party should be the *only* form of this movement.

In England the slogan of forming a People's Front government has lately won some popularity among progressive Liberal and Left-wing Laborites. Obviously, however, the conditions for this are not yet ripe in England. Although there too a differentiation is developing in the ranks of the old parties, this process is still far from having led to such a new alignment of class forces as is necessary for the formation of a real People's Front. There is not as yet in England the necessary solidarity in the ranks of the working class, which will play here a bigger role in the formation of a People's Front than did the working class in France. But one can have in view at the present time in England a struggle to procure such a majority of Laborites and other democratic and progressive elements in parliament as would enable the reactionary "national government" to be replaced by another government which would carry out a really democratic program both in its home and foreign policy.

Such a line would undoubtedly be in accordance with the vital interests of the working people and the great majority of the English people. The Labor Party, of course, is the deciding factor in this matter. But its Right leadership (Bevin, Citrine and Dalton) who are actually cooperating with the National government and working, not to unite, but to split the working class, will scarcely adopt such a course unless great pressure is exerted by the mass organizations of the Labor Party.

In a number of other countries, experience has shown that even when the supporters of the People's Front are still inconsiderable in number, the vigorous struggle of the Communist Party on the basis of the People's Front has had a perceptible influence on the parties of its opponents; it has hastened the process of differentiation in their ranks, it has made cooperation with the fascists difficult for many conservative and agrarian parties, or even split such parties away from the fascist camp, and has prevented Socialist Parties and Left petty-bourgeoisie parties from capitulat-

ing to reaction, etc. It has frequently happened that the slogans or arguments put forward by the Communist Party were at first rejected and scoffed at by the entire Socialist and Left bourgeois press, to be taken up later and repeated in the same press as self-evident truths (in Czechoslovakia, for instance, where Henlein is described as the "Czechoslovakian Franco").

In general, the logic of things is such that the cause of the People's Front is frequently furthered by the very actions of its conscious opponents much, of course, against their will.

The profound vitality of the slogan of the People's Front is shown in the very fact that it has to a certain degree anticipated the inevitable march of events.

In Finland, for instance, the violent opponents of the People's Front willy-nilly formed a democratic governmental bloc as a counter to the reactionary fascist bloc, thereby opening the way for the development of People's Front movement. It is not surprising that the political police there see traces of the People's Front behind every street corner.

In Japan, the situation is even more delicate: there, the conception of the People's Front became such a "dangerous idea" that the government has felt obliged to ban the very mention of the term in the entire press. So that if a fascist journalist wants to abuse the People's Front, he must not mention it by name, as the very term is dangerous to the existing order.

Finally, the struggle for the People's Front has proved in all the capitalist countries to be the best school for our Communist Parties in learning to master the tasks of working among the masses. We need only consider the amazing rapid and manifold development of the French and Spanish Communist Parties in the model school of the People's Front. And it is not they alone who have developed—we have all learned a lot and will learn still more.

The policy of the People's Front teaches our Parties not to fight for dead formulas, but for the vital interests of the working masses. It teaches them also successfully to defend the needs of the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, which are in harmony with the basic interests of the proletariat. It has already taught them to give up their ignoring of and contemptuous attitude to the various organizations and parties of these sections of the working population, who are allies of the working class. It has taught them also to come closer to the honest, really progressive intelligentsia who stand for the defense of liberty and culture against reaction and fascist barbarism.

The policy of the People's Front really teaches us Communists to weld ourselves inseparably to the millions of working people and, as Comrade Dimitroff said, "to sail the stormy waters of the class struggle," and not remain on the shore "as spectators and recorders of the oncoming waves, in the expectation of good weather." But at the same time it teaches us to grasp still better the leading role of the working class, the only class which remains revolutionary to the end, and all the vast importance of the *unity of the working class* for the successful development of the anti-fascist People's Front.

The experience of two years has fully borne out the statement that "the united front of the proletariat and the anti-fascist People's Front are bound together by the *living dialectic of struggle*, have become interwoven, and merge each into the other in the process of the practical struggle against fascism." The united front of the proletariat is the backbone of the People's Front, and the People's Front in turn is a most powerful factor in welding the ranks of the working class movement—the political and trade union movements alike.

In the light of this two years' experience of the proletarian united front and the anti-fascist People's Front, what a sorry plight those "Left" croakers find themselves in who raised the outcry after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern,

that "the Comintern has abandoned its revolutionary principles," that "the Communist Parties have become reformist parties," "have renounced their independence," etc., etc. How these petty calumniators have disgraced themselves in face of the powerfully increased independent strength of the Communist movement! The hysterical rage of the fascist bourgeoisie against the Comintern testifies not only to the strength and revolutionary character of our fight, but also to the bankruptcy of the "Leftist" windbags.

All the successes of the People's Front have been won in spite of the sabotage of the Leftist croakers.

The success of the united and People's Front won by the Communist Parties are inseparably bound up with the struggle against the wreckers of the working class movement—the Trotskyite agents of fascism. Communists, Socialists, and all supporters of the People's Front of democracy and peace must henceforth as well bear firmly in mind that the unmasking of Trotskyite disorganizers, wreckers, spies and warmongers is a necessary condition for carrying on the anti-fascist struggle and achieving successes for the People's Front.

To drive out the Trotskyite wreckers from the ranks of the working class movement is the task of all who wish to bar the way to fascist barbarism.

* * *

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern also indicated the line of the *anti-imperialist united front* in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The decision adopted by the congress on this question is of extremely important international significance just now.

Japanese imperialism has begun its long-prepared general drive against China. It is threatening to seize the whole of China, to torture and slay hundreds of thousands of Chinese, and enslave the entire Chinese nation of four hundred million people. Never was there a more barefaced, more criminal war of plunder in the history of all the disgraceful colonial wars waged by the capitalist powers.

The great Chinese people, though poorly armed, are rising bravely in defense of their country, their freedom, their national existence. This cause is the cause of the whole nation, and no one but a traitor can stand apart from the common front for defending the fatherland from the brutal imperialist aggressor! This is in fact an anti-imperialist national front—a much broader thing than the anti-fascist People's Front.

The Chinese Communist Party two years ago already had adopted the policy of forming the broadest possible united front against Japanese imperialism, for the invasion of Chinese territory by the Japanese usurpers began in 1931. But the appeals of the Communist Party to the Kuomintang produced no results up to 1937. It is only in the last few months and especially in these last weeks that considerable progress has been made in this respect.

The Communist Party proposes first of all that constant cooperation be established between the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and all other anti-Japanese political organizations, on the basis of an agreement to join in a common struggle for the purpose of resisting Japan and saving the fatherland, all partners to the agreement to preserve their political and organizational independence; the formation of an all-China government (by reorganizing the Nanking government) and a single republic embracing all China; the mobilization of all military units and the formation of an all-China united anti-Japanese army; the general mobilization and arming of the whole Chinese people.

As we see, the program of the anti-imperialist national united front drawn up by the Chinese Communist Party means a tremendous change in the policy of this glorious party. Such a daring change of policy is of course fraught with great difficulties and danger, and the Communist Party of China is acting rightly in not being afraid of them. This is the only way it can bring all its leading

strength into action in the fight against Japanese imperialism. Only in this way can it now form the closest contact with the main masses of the working people and successfully continue its work to better their position and to achieve socialism.

The Japanese proletariat is now assuming a more responsible and at the same time a more difficult place in the fight against the robber war of Japanese imperialism in China. But it is not alone in being responsible for this fight. This is the affair of *the entire international proletariat.* Today it is not only the Spanish people who are entitled to appeal to us to fulfil our obligations of international solidarity, but so also are *the Chinese people.*

* * *

The People's Front movement against fascism and war, despite all difficulties, is forging ahead, proceeding along different lines and assuming diverse forms according to the particular conditions and position of the working class movement in the different countries. No force will be able to halt this movement for it answers the vital interests of millions of people, and facilitates the advance of the working class and the whole of progressive mankind along the road to liberation from fascist barbarism, wars of conquest, and capitalist slavery.

The People's Front and the United Party of the Working Class

BY MAURICE THOREZ

COMRADES! The discussion which has taken place at this enlarged plenary session of the Central Committee on the informative report of Comrade Jacques Duclos does great honor to our Communist Party and the working people.*

With what seriousness, depth of analysis, confidence in their judgments and conclusions all the comrades who have followed each other on this platform have spoken and displayed their unanimity in thought and action! What clear proof this is of the depths to which our Party is rooted among the masses of the people of France, whose representatives have come here to tell of their conditions and their sentiments, and to remind us of their needs, hopes and desires!

What then are the sentiments of our people at the present time as expressed here at this plenum?

THE LOYALTY OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE TO THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The dominant sentiment is a profound, conscious, powerful attachment to the People's Front, a sentiment, however, which is beginning more and more to reveal a certain tinge of disquiet.

Where are we going, the workers and peasants of France are asking themselves, if we continue to move away from the general economic and financial home and foreign policy approved and confirmed by us in May, 1936, from the program presented to us by the parties and groups united in the People's Front?

There is not the slightest doubt that the working masses of our country still remain attached to the People's Front; and the numerous elections have proved this, as well as demonstrations like those of June 26 at the Place du Nation, and of July 14 in Paris and throughout the country. The explanation of this is that the People's Front has improved the living conditions of all sections of the working people; that it has maintained and extended democratic liberties; that despite certain disappointments, the condition of the country and the working masses is better now than during the so-called governments of national concentration, which pursued the policy of big business, the policy of oppressing the French people.

The workers and peasants of France are confident that their alliance can and must secure to the workers and peasants new advantages, both material and political; that it can and must secure the economic revival of the country; that it can and must be successful in securing the salvation of democracy and peace.

It is precisely in stating the gains achieved as a result of the People's Front, in stating the possibilities inherent in the People's Front, that there is

* Speech delivered by Comrade Maurice Thorez at the enlarged plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France on July 23, 1937. Published in *L'Humanité*, July 25, 1937.

born a feeling of alarm for the future, because the ministerial crisis which follows concessions and retreats can and is bound to cause the people to fear that reaction is capable of forcing a return to the past.

It is only too well known that though the reactionaries were beaten on the election arena in May, 1936, they have never to this day ceased to exert every effort to bring defeat to the People's Front, to defeat the program of social justice, liberty and peace.

It is only too well known that the big industrialists only reluctantly submitted to the social legislation, that they have systematically violated it, going even as far as sabotage in the enterprises, regardless of the interests of the country.

The working class, which is more and more identifying its own material and political interests with the cause of democracy, the cause of the republic, is beginning increasingly to understand that the development of the productive forces of the country is one of the conditions of progress and of the maintenance of the gains won in the sphere of social legislation. At the same time the big industrialists are refusing to bring about the necessary improvements and modernization in technique, are refusing to make the further capital investments required by the new methods of production, and are behaving in an increasingly provocative fashion. They are forcing the workers to resort to strikes in defense of holidays with pay, the 40-hour working week and the collective agreements which are systematically violated. In this connection, we would like to advise the working class not to fall into the net spread for them by the forces of reaction, not to allow themselves to be provoked into isolated battles.

So as not to become empty-sounding doctrinaires, divorced from reality, we must not allow the working class to become isolated.

What is more, we must, especially in the coming weeks and months, avoid a twofold danger: on the one hand, passivity, which would consist in rejecting the struggle to maintain the advantage gained and, on the other hand, we must avoid hysterical gestures in the form of strikes by minorities of particular categories of workers.

We must not only strengthen the positions of the working class, but also ensure its alliance with the working people of the middle classes, with the rural masses of France.

As you well remember, this line was approved by you at our Party conference held in July of last year in Huyghens.

This policy was confirmed by our Party alone, because it alone had the courage to come forward with the slogans: "Everything cannot be obtained at once," and "We must know how to stop the strike as soon as the chief demands of the working class are satisfied."

And it was only for the sake of this solicitude about the unity and cohesion of the People's Front that we smiled when we saw the nervousness of irresponsible adventurists, and at the same time turned to those who hold the fate of our country in their hands, and declared: All the severity of the law must fall on those who are at present violating it with impunity.

And a whole year has passed since the financial oligarchy, the big banks and trusts have been engaged in a systematic attack on the People's Front, and, we must admit, not without success. They brought intolerable pressure to bear upon the Chamber of Deputies and the first government to come to power as a result of the victory of the People's Front; they positively blackmailed it.

THE REBEL LEAGUES CONTINUE THEIR PROVOCATIVE WORK

Parallel with this counter-offensive in the economic and social field, the leagues which were dissolved on paper but have been restored in actual fact, and have stores of arms at their disposal, have been conducting their foul work throughout the country to divide the people, to instigate civil war.

It is extremely important to stress the point that the less chances the reactionaries have of an election victory by legal and constitutional means with the help of the universal suffrage entrusted to us by our forefathers, the more do the real and seeming breaches among the reactionary groupings manifest themselves and the more are the most aggressive circles of big capital, of the big bourgeoisie, inclined to resort to forcible and bloody methods of brutal terror, to the fascist methods from which the peoples of Germany and Italy are already suffering so much.

Have we not, for several months already, been witness to the repetition of criminal assaults on the one hand by a renegade from our Party, and on the other by the leader of a band of cutthroats,* by the president of a new party which is fundamentally the old Croix de Feu organization—criminal attempts in Pussey, Chateaurenard, bloody conflicts in Marseilles, bloody night provocations in Clichy?

Is it not a regular thing for us to learn of the discovery of new stores of arms at different points in the country? And our people know of the conditions which frequently bestow such a dramatic character on our efforts to save the People's Front. Our people are aware that there must be an end to the policy of concessions and retreat, because to depart from the People's Front means to encourage reaction and fascism in their struggle against the people; this means to allow reaction to dictate conditions harmful to the interests of the working people, harmful to the cause of peace and liberty.

The people realize that only unity—unity of action of all the forces united in the People's Front for the purpose of fulfilling the program of the People's Front resolutely and firmly—can ensure successful resistance to the offensive of reaction and fascism; only unity can render it possible to consolidate and extend the fruits of the May victory; only unity can render it possible to continue or rather renew our gradual advance in the field of the struggle for bread, liberty and peace.

ENSURE THE COHESION OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT AND THE FULFILMENT OF ITS PROGRAM

The formula of the Communist Party, the one that is our supreme law, namely: "All for the People's Front, all through the People's Front," has become the slogan of all sincere champions of the great cause for which we pledged ourselves to obtain victory in the solemn oath taken on July 14, 1935.

Our Party is proud of the fact that it was the initiator of the People's Front in the struggle for bread, liberty and peace. Since the Ivry Party conference in June, 1934, which advanced the slogans: "Unity of action between Communists and Socialist brothers at all costs," "Support for the efforts towards trade union unity at all costs," "An alliance between the working class and the middle class toiling people at all costs," every big meeting of our Party has without a break urged forward the cause of unity.

The present Plenary Session of the Central Committee must formulate proposals, draw up and present for discussion to our friends and allies a plan of action enabling us on this occasion as well to justify the hopes of the masses.

Our first great task is to ensure the solidarity of the People's Front. Comrade Nedelec has made a proposal which the Political Bureau asks the Central Committee to discuss. He advances the idea of convening of a National Congress of People's Front committees. It would be a good thing, and Duclos in his report mentioned the fact, if these committees of the People's Front were to be elected from below on a democratic basis.

But even as they are composed at present, even if we bear in mind that very often these committees include representatives of organizations which have hardly a few thousand members through-

* This is a reference to Doriot the renegade-fascist, and de La Rocque, the fascist leader.

out the country and possess equal rights with such an organization, for example, as the powerful General Confederation of Labor with its five million membership —even if we allow such an extremely incorrect relation of forces, the idea of convening a wide national congress of the People's Front committees should be discussed and proposed by our Central Committee. The convening of such a congress would be of great importance for our policy, for our policy of rendering firm support to the present government under the leadership of the radicals, for the realization of the program of the People's Front.

What would be the agenda of such a congress, which would be discussed in advance by the rank-and-file committees and be widely discussed by the delegates they elect to the national congress? To find ways and means of ensuring the realization of the program of the People's Front approved by the electors, with a view thus to rendering the government support against the resistance of the capitalist oligarchy.

Much is being said about the further extension of the program. In this connection I must repeat that there are no measures too radical, in the literal sense of the word, for our Communist Party. We are fighting to build a new society, to reorganize the industrial system in such a way that there are placed into the hands of the community all the tremendous wealth, the fruits of the labor of the people—the wealth which today is in the clutches of a parasitical minority which dooms the working masses to poverty, whereas we could guarantee the French people abundance in labor. And as Duclos has already said in his report, we are on no account opposed to the nationalization of certain branches of the national economy such as the railways and insurance companies.

Nationalization figures in the program of all or almost all the groups or parties embraced by the People's Front. In the program of certain parties it has already figured for half a century. Incidentally, it often happens that it is talked about chiefly on the eve of an electoral struggle after which people try not to remember its existence during the whole term of office of the given parliament.

This goes to show—and I want to stress this as well—that the main thing is not the drawing up of a new paper program. The main thing is the realization of the program already adopted.

We consider it necessary to declare that the difficulties which the People's Front has come up against the past, it is meeting now and will continue to meet in the future, that the failures of the preceding government did not result from any lack of the most radical, most revolutionary measures in the program. By no means!

The cause of the partial defeat we have sustained lies in the fact that the measures outlined in the program of the People's Front were not operated. This refers, as Duclos has already pointed out, to financial measures, like fiscal identity cards or a more democratic, more fundamental fiscal reform, or measures against the flight of capital abroad.

This also refers, in the sphere of the defense of the People's liberties, to measures providing for the effective disarmament and dissolution of the leagues and for increasing the republican spirit in the higher administrative bodies, in the police and the army.

Incidentally, comrades, what guarantees have we, even if we have a more resolute program on paper, that we shall not in a few months time be asked to agree to a pause as was the case when we had a much more modest program? I repeat, we are fully prepared to discuss such additions as will be recognized as necessary by all the parties and groups now belonging to the People's Front, but the real guarantee that the program will be carried out, it seems to me, lies in a government built up on the lines of, and similar to, the People's Front and backed up by the masses of the people.

And from this point of view the Central Committee will undoubtedly agree to confirm its previous declaration to

the effect that we are prepared, when necessary, if our friends and allies deem it necessary, to undertake a share of the responsibility in such a government. The main thing is unity in the work of the People's Front itself.

We Communists have never regarded the People's Front as an electoral, purely parliamentary, operation, as fortuitous tactics—you remember our congress at Villeurbanne. No, we regard it as the policy which corresponds to the present and future interests of our people, as an organization of the masses themselves operating in a legal framework and finding its normal, legal and constitutional expression in the shape of parliament and the government.

OUR SOLICITUDE FOR UNITY OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

It is precisely our solicitude for the unity of the People's Front that makes us rejoice so sincerely and without reservation at every display of unity which emanates from various parties and groupings of the People's Front, and moves us to regret splitting maneuvers, wherever they may take place, directed towards dividing these groups or parties of the People's Front.

We are glad when the great Radical Party is able, on the basis of unity in its ranks, to confirm a policy which answers the profound hopes of the peasants and small middle class people who have till now trusted the Radical Party.

We are glad when our fraternal Socialist Party creates the preconditions for unity, and what is more we wish it, in this respect, to assist in achieving increasingly closer unity of action between the Communists and Socialists.

We are glad when the League of the Rights of Man confirms its loyalty to the principles of liberty and peace, which lie at the basis of its statutes, and unmasks the low, foul intrigues of overt or covert enemies of the People's Front, or the enemies of its Communist ally, which is so loyal to the People's Front.

We are happy when the former members of the General Confederation of Labor and the Unitarian Confederation of Labor, strong in their unity achieved in the ranks of the united General Confederation of Labor, now draw millions of trade unionists into the economic struggle and into the struggle for liberty and peace. We issue a warning against the crafty plans of the reactionaries who are anxious to call forth an open armed struggle in the ranks of the C.G.T. between brothers who have become reconciled and united around Jouheaux, Frachon and the other members of the Executive Committee of the Confederation.

It is in the spirit of this passionate desire for unity that the Central Committee must determine the second big task of our Party.

As the members of the Central Committee and secretaries of regional committees have declared here, we must take a rapid and resolute step in the direction of creating a united party of the working class. This is the opinion of the Political Bureau, and it asks the Central Committee to adopt a decision to this effect.

The successes already achieved, thanks to unity of action and, on the other hand, the difficulties we have been meeting in the course of last year, have made the desire for complete unity, which inspires both the Communist and Socialist workers, much more alive, more ardent, and more imperative.

Do not our Spanish brothers, Socialists and Communists, by their example make it an obligation on us rapidly to take the road of complete unity?

We have had the great honor and tremendous joy of welcoming on our platform Comrade Del Vayo, representative of Republican Spain at the League of Nations, and, at the same time, one of the leaders of the Socialist Party who is working sincerely and successfully for the complete fusion of the Communist and Socialist Parties of Spain.

A UNITED PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS MUST BE CREATED

It is quite evident, that if we join forces and create a united party of the

working class, we shall be in a stronger position to beat back the attacks of reaction, to defend the interests of the working class and all working people.

It is quite evident that the result of unity will not only unite the forces which have been disunited hitherto, but will also be to increase their number manyfold at the expense of the unorganized, indifferent, wavering workers, or even of those now under hostile influences whom the great movement of unity will draw into the struggle for liberty and peace.

But it is quite clear, as Comrade Tournemaine said, that the working class does not understand why it is that what was possible in the trade union sphere turns out to be so difficult or, as some declare, even impossible, in the political field.

The Marseilles Congress of the Socialist Party adopted a resolution of which I will give one excerpt:

"The Socialist Party will continue to strive for organizational unity, to the principle of which it has always been loyal, and which will become possible of realization as soon as the contracting parties agree to proclaim: 'Democracy throughout the organization'; 'The sovereignty of national and international congresses'; 'Independence of the party from all governments.'"

And so, after Duclos, I want to repeat that such a basis, in our opinion, facilitates to an extraordinary degree the unification of the Communist and Socialist Parties that is so much desired and is so extremely necessary.

"Democracy throughout the organization." The draft plan of conciliation and agreement for the creation of a united party of the proletariat, as presented by us on December 29, 1935, and which was the result of the primary proposal of May 29, 1935, says:

"The united party of the proletariat is based upon democratic centralism; its policy is determined at congresses by all its members; the leading organs are elected by general assemblies at the congresses, and are obliged to report back periodically to their electors about their activities."

As we understand it and undoubtedly as our Socialist comrades understand it: "Democracy throughout the organization" must mean that if a congress is necessary to decide the question of creating a government led by members of this united party, it is also necessary to convene a congress to solve the question of its resignation, if it still enjoys confidence on the basis of universal suffrage, and that it cannot violate a decision adopted, by resigning.

For example, our parliamentary group was confronted on June 15 with particularly difficult and complicated problems.

And the Central Committee alone which, according to our statutes is the highest authority and possesses full powers in the interim between congresses, was able, within the bounds set by the decisions of the Villeurbanne Congress, to draw up a declaration announcing the possibility of our participation in a strengthened People's Front government and created on the lines of the People's Front.

"The sovereignty of national and international congresses." As regards the sovereignty of national and international congresses, we, comrades, are as much in agreement with you as it is possible to be!

Our draft says:

"Decisions adopted after an absolutely free discussion of questions are binding for all."

"The united party of the proletariat conscientiously operates the decisions adopted by international congresses."

This means that in the future the possibility will be excluded of repeating the scandalous fact of the Tours Congress* when the minority refused to

* The Congress of the Socialist Party in Tours took place in December, 1920. The majority of the congress affiliated to the Communist International. It was then that the Communist Party of France was formed.—*Ed.*

subordinate itself to the rightfully adopted decisions of the congress after a discussion freely conducted in all organizations, sections and federations of the party.

If our young members will acquaint themselves with the minutes of the Tours Congress, they will see how one after another the delegates at Tours voted, three-quarters of them being in favor of our party affiliating to the Communist International.

The sovereignty of national and international congresses and, of course, it goes without saying, of the supreme international authorities, means, that today, when the Communist International and the Labor and Socialist International confirm the identity of their views as regards the defense of peace and support for republican Spain, the French Socialists and Communists should fight in unison for the lifting of the blockade of Republican Spain, for the withdrawal of the fascist troops encroaching on the independence of the Spanish people and creating a menace to international peace, for freedom of trade for Spain and the observation of international law.

This means that it is impermissible now for an individual member or individual organization of the party, knowing of the sovereignty of national and international congresses, to allow himself or itself to popularize, support or defend the tragic mistake of so-called non-intervention—contrary to the decision of the Labor and Socialist International.

Independence of the party from all governments. Comrades, I said—and excuse me for quoting myself—on April 25, 1936, when speaking before the microphone on behalf of our Party:

"Neither in Rome, nor in Berlin, nor in any other foreign capital, and not even in Moscow, towards which we Communists do not hide our deep attachment, will the fate of our people be decided; it will be decided in *Paris*."

It goes without saying that this independence should also be displayed—and Peri made this declaration yesterday in his splendid speech—towards the British government.

I even want to add that in the future, in regard to a possible government formed under the leadership of or in collaboration with members of the united party of the working class, we shall have to demand our independence, freedom of criticism, and even preliminary approval of the Party, in regard to the chief measures—something which, truth to tell, has not yet been practiced.

We can come to agreement on this point as well. What is more, it is absolutely clear that in respect to these principles, the Communists cannot and do not make the slightest reservation, the slightest objection, so profoundly are they convinced of the need for democracy in their Party, so strongly are they persuaded of the need to fulfil the sovereign decisions of national and international congresses and leading bodies, so strongly are they convinced of the need for the independence of their Party in relation to all governments.

THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS CAN BE REALIZED WITHOUT DELAY

We want now to add that no considerations whatsoever can be the reason for failure to include in this united party all who accept its basic principles, its fundamental charter, who are prepared to conduct a struggle in the vanguard of the working population under the *banner of the working class and socialism.* Those who, after freely discussing the problems raised before the party, undertake, as behooves convinced and disciplined members, to carry into life all the decisions of the party must not be excluded from the united party of the working class.

What prospects would open up before the working class if a united party were rapidly established! How we could go ahead in realizing the People's Front program concerning the provisions of pensions to aged workers, representatives of whom came here to greet the Central Committee of our Party; concerning the provisions of security to the peasants in

he event of natural agricultural calami-ies; and the other demand described by Comrade Renaud Jean, such as the in-roduction of a complete system of fam-ly grants, capable of protecting the French family and removing the serious menace of a falling birth rate, and of ealizing an effective program of large-cale public works, as demanded by the uilding workers through their federa-ion and the C.G.T.

How strong we would become! We hould then be in a position to force he rich to pay, to render the restored ascist leagues harmless, to fight more uccessfully for the maintenance of peace y freeing Republican Spain and carry-ng out in practice the theses common o the French Socialists and Commu-ists!

But, comrades, we now have seriously o ask ourselves whether it is really nec-ssary to wait until we have finished a etailed discussion of all points of the harter, all articles of the common pro-ram, before realizing the first resolute tep in the direction of unity?

Why not immediately unite all our eople, all our means, all our strength, he whole of our press throughout the ountry?

Why not make it a step to be imme-iately operated for the Communist and ocialist organizations from top to bot-om, from the Executive Committee of he Socialist Party and the Central Com-nittee of our Party down to the rank-nd-file sections, to begin henceforth oming together and jointly discussing ll the questions which confront the orking class and the people of our ountry? Why not jointly operate the ecisions we shall adopt together?

It is fully possible to conceive that in he intermediary stage, Socialists and ommunists in local groups, in united ections of the united party of the pro-tariat, may temporarily continue to be onsidered members of their respective arties and receive membership stamps om their respective treasurers. This, owever, will not prevent them from be-ng constantly together at meetings, at work, in the factories and in their districts, in order to resist attacks of the reactionaries and to ensure the carrying out of the People's Front program.

Comrades, it is easy to imagine the atmosphere of brotherly joy that would reign in these united local groups. What a splendid prelude it would be to complete fusion! It would be possible to have discussions on theoretical and practical questions in conditions far more favorable for unity. It is easy to imagine the deep response that would be evoked in our country by this unity, which can be realized immediately, and which nothing can prevent.

This is the great idea which must emerge from the Central Committee, this is what we must propose without delay to our Socialist comrades. There is not the slightest doubt that taking account of the decisions of the Marseilles Congress of the Socialist Party, we shall be able at the forthcoming session of the conciliation committees to come to agreement, so that the working class will be in a position to raise the banner of struggle and victory, of the struggle and victory of the People's Front, the strongest hope of the French people.

THE NEW CONTRIBUTION OF OUR PARTY TO THE CAUSE OF UNITY OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE

I will finish, comrades, with the proposal that you accept two decisions which supplement each other:

1. Close the ranks of the People's Front still further by proposing to our friends and allies that a national congress of the People's Front committees be convened, elected as far as possible on a democratic basis from below, and if that is not possible, then, as at present composed.

2. Unite the forces of the working class politically and without delay, by proposing to our Socialist comrades the realization of joint organization and work throughout the country from top to bottom, beginning with the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the

Central Committee of our Party and ending with the rank-and-file organizations of both Parties, Socialist and Communist.

The whole of our Central Committee—you yourselves can see—supports these proposals. The whole of our Party—as you well know, comrades—will accept them with enthusiasm and work for their realization.

We can say that the entire working class will welcome them as a great new contribution of the Communist Party to the cause of working class unity, to the cause of unity of the French people.

Who better than our Communist Party is capable of raising such a task and seeing to its fulfilment? For we are before all a party of unity, because we preserve in our ranks the absolute and profound unity that is based on mutual fraternal trust, and also the unshakable firmness that is based on the principles of Communism.

No other party has at its disposal such an elite of old and young working class fighters, headed by leaders who have passed through the school of Lenin and Stalin, leaders of whom even the very youngest have been steeled in the experiences of difficult days. No other party possesses such workers, whose absolute loyalty to the common cause is beyond all doubt. No other party can boast of such friendly collaboration with outstanding and high-minded intellectuals scientists, writers, artists, as can our Party. No other party can boast of such a large membership—we have 332,000 members today—and of such a stable organizational base in the factories, as has only just been proved by the workers, these best representatives of the working class of the Paris region—the 7,200 Communists of the Renault works! No other party can boast of more hearty support from the masses of the people, headed by the working class and proletarians of Paris! No other party can boast of the confidence of a more numerous, more ardent youth, "marching towards life, towards labor and love," marching under the banner of communism, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

We are the party of the working class, the flesh and blood of the French people, its proletarian vanguard with its glorious traditions. We are and will always remain the party of the youth, the party of the future, the party that will make France free, strong and happy!

In five months' time, at the New Year, there will meet at Nice the Ninth Congress of our Communist Party which will be able, we are sure, to sum up the results of the work we are planning today.

Therefore, comrades, forward to work, to the struggle for unity, for the triumph of the People's Front, for bread, liberty and peace!

The People's Front in Germany

BY WILHELM PIECK

THE great enthusiasm which was engendered among the masses throughout the world by Comrade Dimitroff's report at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, and the Congress resolutions on the united front and the People's Front for the fight against war and fascism was echoed by the masses of the working people in Germany. The tactics of the united front filled the masses with confidence that the fatal split of the German working class which facilitated the victory of fascism would be overcome, and unity of action for the overthrow of the barbaric fascist dictatorship would be accomplished. The great success of the united and People's Front in Spain and France exercised great influence in this direction.

But, unfortunately, the cause of proletarian unity of action and of the People's Front came up against vigorous resistance on the part of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany which looked on the tactics of the united front as a maneuver of the Communists designed to draw away the Social-Democratic workers from their leaders and to win them for the Communist Party. The fruitful results of the joint work between the Communists and Socialists in France and Spain finally led to a noticeable change in the attitude of a number of Social-Democratic leaders to the tactics of the united front and the People's Front; they became ready to enter into conversations with the Communists. Nevertheless it must be said that the majority of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party—the Wels group—has been completely unaffected by this change.

After the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the Brussels Conference of the Communist Party of Germany, conversations were held in November, 1935, in Paris and Prague between the Communists and some of the leaders of the Social-Democratic opposition groups living in emigration and some well-known progressively-minded bourgeois people. The subject of these conversations was cooperation in achieving the united and People's Front. It is precisely these people who have been driven by Hitler fascism into emigration—the Communists, Socialists, Democrats, Catholics and in part even the representatives of the Right wing parties, who are the representatives of the German people.

This gives particular weight to these German emigré; if they come together and mutually cooperate it can greatly assist in the formation of the People's Front in Germany. The horrible terror of the fascist regime to which Social-Democrats, Democrats, trade unionists, Catholics and, above all, Communists have fallen victims has been one of the chief reasons compelling the leaders of these parties living in emigration to come to an agreement about joint action against the terror, and for the support of its victims. The movement for the liberation of Comrade Dimitroff, which was crowned with historic success, the campaign for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and the other imprisoned anti-fascists have paved the path for this joint

work. The declaration of protest against the execution of Rudolf Claus for his Red Aid activity was the first document that was signed by leaders of the Social-Democratic opposition and representatives of the Communist Party.

Out of these discussions and occasional collaborations arose the need for constant cooperation; regular meetings began of representatives of Communists, Social-Democrats, Democrats and intellectuals in Paris not connected with any party (the "Lutecia circle," named after the name of the building in which it meets) from which after a time developed the "Committee for the Preparation of a German People's Front." The first big discussion took place in December, 1935, when the idea of the People's Front was explained by the Communists in detail. Then in February, 1936, there followed a wider conference at which a "Declaration to the German People" against the war provocations of Hitler fascism was agreed upon, and to which 118 signatures were attached. The necessity of the common struggle for peace was also brought forward in an article by Breitscheid, the Social-Democrat, in an article in *Mitteilungen der Dutschen Freiheitbibliothek* on May 1, in which he also regretted that "no close contact has been established up till now between the representatives abroad of the German workers' parties."

The great defect of this cooperation consisted in the fact that agreement as to the tasks and aims of the People's Front was lacking. Among a number of those participating in the conversations there were frequently not only very different, but also very confused, conceptions of the tasks of the People's Front.

In one of the larger meetings held in July, 1936, which also served as preparation for the conference on the right of asylum and at which for the first time a representative of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party took part, although unofficially, the tasks and aims of the People's Front against the fascist regime were explained in detail by the Communists. They were requested to put forward in writing a "Platform of the German People's Front," for the discussion of which a special commission was appointed.

The discussions in the commission brought out the existing unclarity and even the contradictory character of the views on the People's Front, and so no agreement was arrived at regarding a definite platform. In its place a conference in December, 1936, decided on a *Call to the German People*, in which there were put forward in general outline the demands of the People's Front, and the measures which must be taken after the overthrow of fascism. This call was signed by 20 Social-Democrats, 14 Communists, 28 writers and intellectuals and 10 members of the so-called Socialistische Arbeiter Partei (S.A.P. [Socialist Workers' Party]).

The great defect of this call was that nothing was said in it as to how the day-to-day fight against Hitler fascism should be carried on and how this fight should be supported in Germany. Neither did the call contain anything about the necessity of supporting the Spanish people in its fight against the intervention of Hitler fascism.

In the middle of April, 1937, a wide conference of representatives of the entire anti-Hitler movement was held, called by the People's Front Committee. This conference concerned itself more with the concrete tasks of the fight in Germany, such as wages and trade union problems, assistance for political prisoners and their dependents and, above all, with the fight for the maintenance of peace.

In the *Message to the German People* agreed on by the conference, the chief weight was laid on the fight against the war provocations of Hitler fascism, on the maintenance of peace and on the demands for the withdrawal from Spain of the troops and warships of the Hitler government. In the *Message* it says:

"Socialists, Communists, Democrats, adherents of all religious sects, let us act together, render aid to one another, let us end all divisions which can only play

into the hands of Hitler, let us join together in the great German People's Front, which alone can and will lead our German people to the overthrow of Hitler. . . . We want the German people to establish a free, happy, socialist Germany on the basis of the newly-won democratic liberties."

The work of the "Committee for the Preparation of the German People's Front" and the conferences called by it constitute a certain advance. Special mention should be made of the work of the chairman of this committee, the writer Heinrich Mann, who has broadened the work of the committee and drawn in all the anti-Hitler forces. His speech at the April session was of a programmatic nature, and undoubtedly assisted in advancing the work of the committee.

There is a number of Social-Democratic members of the committee who together with the Communists are seriously working to make the committee more active and its work known. But the results of the work of the committee are far from satisfactory. This work is still very much hampered by absolutely fruitless discussions with certain representatives of the Socialist Workers Party, who want anything rather than to extend the work of the committee. If the committee is really to become a center of the movement against Hitler fascism and to play a serious part in bringing about the People's Front in Germany, the committee will have to do everything to conduct really practical work to support the fight against Hitler fascism, and for the advance of the People's Front in Germany.

All the news from Germany shows that in the factories, the workers—Social-Democratic and Communist, Catholic and in part also National-Socialist—are coming together to offer common resistance to the drive against wages and the speed-up. This resistance has to a certain extent taken on higher forms, such as the refusal to work, passive resistance, etc., but it still suffers from lack of organization.

Naturally the extraordinarily difficult conditions in which the working people in Germany have to fight for bread and freedom and against the fascist regime must be taken into consideration. But above all the workers lack a clear understanding of the need for organized collaboration. The blame for this lies at the door of the Social-Democratic leaders in the first place, who are in the majority against organized collaboration and reject the united front, while another section does not fight energetically enough to bring about the united front. The Communist Party also bears some of the blame, as there are still some sectarian tendencies existing which stand in the way of comradely cooperation with Social-Democratic workers.

Similar difficulties also exist in connection with bringing about the People's Front. Far too little has been done by the Social-Democratic and also by the Communist Party to make the workers, the urban middle classes and the peasantry understand the need for the joint struggle against Hitler fascism and for the immediate demands of these strata. Here also the most serious obstruction is the rejection of the united and the People's Front by the majority of the Social-Democratic leaders, above all, by the majority of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Of course, it is not only a question here of propaganda for the united front and the People's Front; what is needed in the fight for the vital demands of the different strata of the population and for the maintenance of peace, is, with the aid of the experience accumulated by the workers in this sphere, to rally these strata and win them for the formation of the united and the People's Front.

There is great unclarity on the tasks and aims of the People's Front and on the relation between the proletarian united front and the anti-fascist People's Front, the basic mistake being that these are set off one against the other. It is no accident that in communication sent by Social-Democratic workers from Germany the question of the united front

almost disappears before the question of the People's Front.

It seems as if the opinion is rife among Social-Democratic workers that the People's Front is easier to establish than the united working class front and that for the time being therefore the united front of the working class should be renounced. The cause apparently lies in the fact that the Social-Democratic Central Committee abroad has up to now refused to conclude any agreement with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany regarding joint action against Hitler fascism, and turns down all proposals of the Communists for the establishment of the united front of the working class.

The Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party has given instructions to the Social-Democratic groups in Germany to have no truck whatever with the Communists. Although the Social-Democratic workers in the majority disagree with the policy of their Party leaders, they cannot make up their minds to act against the will of their Central Committee, and as a result do not see any possibility of concluding the united front with the Communists in Germany.

Nevertheless, in some districts regular organized joint work by the local and district functionaries of the two parties has taken place, and has led to good results. Many Social-Democratic workers believe that they can get over the dilemma created by the Social-Democratic Party leadership by relegating the question of the united front to the background, and bringing forward instead the question of the People's Front. But their idea as to what the People's Front should be, and what its aims and its tasks are, is still by no means clear.

This is shown clearly in the draft of a People's Front program and the arguments for it worked out by the opposition Social-Democratic group in Berlin. There it states that "the German People's Front can only be a temporary form of proletarian unity, which must be followed by a consciously Socialist unity. How far the bourgeoisie will allow itself to be drawn into a German People's Front is a question of the policy in practice of the first People's Front government." And the authors of this program draw the conclusion that in the People's Front the "outlived old parties" should not be "preserved" and that all those taking part in the People's Front must pledge themselves "to stop their special party work inside Germany from the day of the formation of the People's Front up to the overthrow of Hitler."

A completely confused conception! Yet the authors of this program of the People's Front belong to the progressive section of the Social-Democratic opposition in Germany and categorically demand from the Social-Democratic Central Committee agreement with the Communists, and the establishment of the united front!

The most dangerous thing in these views is the misunderstanding of the importance of the united front from the point of view of the fight against fascism, and also of the leadership of the People's Front. The People's Front cannot fulfil its task properly as long as united working class action is not realized. In order to ensure united, firm leadership of the forces gathered together in the People's Front, unity of action between the Social-Democratic and Communist workers must be achieved. The demands of the People's Front are based in the first place on the demands of the working class which are in no way in opposition to the interests of the middle class and the peasantry.

It would be fatal for the working class, as well as for the middle class and the peasantry if the Social-Democratic workers in Germany did not put their whole strength into the formation of the united front with the mass of Communists and Catholic workers. The Social-Democratic workers cannot wait until their leaders, under pressure of the workers, bestir themselves and alter their attitude to the united front. Important as an agreement between the Social-Democratic leadership with the Communist leadership is, the key point in achieving the united

ont lies among the Social-Democratic orkers in Germany.

Since the establishment of the Hitler ctatorship, the Central Committee of e Communist Party of Germany has peatedly made the proposal of joint tion against Hitler fascism to the Cenal Committee of the Social-Democratic arty. In spite of the refusal of the tter the Central Committee of the ommunist Party of Germany is conuing these attempts to arrive at an greement, and is following the example the Executive Committee of the Comunist International in its efforts to ing about international unity of action. approaching the Social-Democratic arty leadership the Central Committee the German Communist Party is makg persistent efforts to bring about the nited front.

These repeated approaches are treated certain opposition groups in the German Social-Democratic Party as though ey raise the authority of the leadership Social-Democracy in the eyes of the ocial-Democratic workers, and thereby old up the formation of the united front etween the Social-Democratic and Comunist workers.

This is a completely wrong conception nd estimation of the Communist united ont proposals. The German Communist arty stresses the need for concluding e united front with the whole of Socialemocracy and not only with some of its pposition groups for it is in this way at the forces of the united front can e developed to the full. The Communist arty is not aiming at a split in the nks of the Social-Democratic Party, t is striving to establish a united, owerful revolutionary party of the prottariat which will be of the very greatst importance in the fight for the overrow of Hitler fascism and the comlete liberation of the masses of workg people.

The Communist Party does not at all nderestimate the importance of the ork of the Social-Democratic leaders nd groups who are in opposition to the olicy of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, and comes out in favor of realizing the united and the People's Front. The work which has been done in the Committee for the Preparation of the German People's Front by Breitscheid and certain other Social-Democratic leaders helps to extend the work of the committee and to develop collaboration between Social-Democrats and Communists.

This is undoubtedly influencing certain members of the Social-Democratic leadership of the party who no longer support the sharply negative tactics of the Wels' group and are showing themselves more inclined to collaborate with the Communists.

In complete contradistinction to the conception of those Social-Democratic workers who imagine that the united front takes second place after the People's Front, the leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party are of the opinion that only the unity of the class-conscious section of the proletariat is necessary, and that the middle class and the peasantry should only be used by the working class. These leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party therefore reject the People's Front of the workers, peasants and the middle classes and see in it an opportunist danger.

The representatives of this party, it is true, take part in the discussions of the Committee for the Preparation of a People's Front and have also signed its declarations in favor of the People's Front, but in practice they try to sabotage the work of this committee and to frustrate any extension of this committee. The harm this brings to the work of the committee has already been pointed out.

In its press, the Socialist Workers' Party openly says what its representatives do not dare to say in the People's Front Committee for fear that their participation in its discussions will be stopped. In the committee they are carrying on a very dangerous double game which must be exposed. Just as it uninterruptedly tries to discredit, in its press, the idea of the People's Front

in the eyes of the working class, so it conducts also a persistent campaign against the People's Front in France and Spain.

It is clear that such a policy is only grist to the fascist mill. To what degeneration such a policy leads is shown by the struggle carried on by the Socialist Workers' Party against the People's Front government in Spain, attacked by fascist intervention, which it points to as a "counter-revolutionary" government.

The Trotskyist bandits who organized the counter-revolutionary putsch in Barcelona in the heat of the bitter fight against fascist intervention are described in the Socialist Workers' Party press as the "most active and revolutionary-minded section of the working class of Barcelona." Actually these leaders help Hitler fascism in Spain as well, and in fact desire to bring about a defeat of the Spanish people in their fight against fascist intervention.

There are apparently some differences of opinion within the leadership in regard to this criminal policy. It is also certain that the workers who still support the Socialist Workers' Party in Germany and abroad are not in agreement with such a counter-revolutionary policy on the part of their leaders. The People's Front committee is faced with the important question of whether to give this party further opportunities to sabotage the work of the committee.

Further, considerable unclarity also exists regarding the question as to what the People's Front can achieve. True, there is general agreement that the activity of the People's Front must be directed towards the overthrow of Hitler fascism and that all the forces opposed to Hitler must be won for this fight. There are, however, among the Social-Democrats certain preconceived ideas against collaboration with the Catholic organizations; this was seen in their attitude to the proposals of the Communists regarding measures to be taken against the trials of Catholic priests and monks undertaken by the fascists.

The sectarian views, which are at the bottom of these preconceived notions, also explain the ignoring of the great role which could be played by the masses of the Catholics in the fight for the People's Front. It is no accident that the higher clergy and the Catholic emigré paper *Der Neue Weg* have done everything possible to prevent the masses of the Catholics from being drawn into the People's Front movement. For the very same reason they refuse to mobilize the masses for the fight against fascist persecution. They know that such a mobilization must lead the masses of the Catholics into the camp of the People's Front movement.

The most varied opinions exist as to the path to be taken to achieve the overthrow of Hitler. The People's Front has set itself this aim. But vacillations are being shown by some supporters of the People's Front as to whether it will be at all possible, in view of the fascist terror, to form the People's Front in Germany and to overthrow Hitler by mass struggle. This lack of confidence in the power of the masses constitutes a basis for the speculation on war—as the deliverer from fascism. But this speculation is extremely dangerous, since it prevents the concentration of all forces on the concrete fight against fascism and for the maintenance of peace, and is a cover for passivity. During war time the fascist terror will not be less fierce than before war breaks out, and the working people of Germany will have to carry on the fight against Hitler fascism under far more difficult circumstances.

There is a great deal of discussion in the People's Front committee as to what will happen after the overthrow of Hitler. Some have even gone so far as to draw up an entire program for the activity of the future state. The Communists in their draft program for the German People's Front have put out the slogan of a democratic republic, "in which the people freely decides all questions of economy, of the home and foreign policy of the country, while the composition of the government will be determined by a decision of the working

people on the basis of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage."

The Communists thereby made it clear that the fight for the overthrow of Hitler fascism will be a wide mass struggle and that the masses after their victory will exercise a decisive influence on the development of a democratic republic, which under no circumstances will be a repetition of the Weimar Republic, and which will tear out fascism by the roots. But the slogan of the democratic republic is attacked by the Socialist Workers' Party representatives on the committee and in their press on the grounds that it is an opportunist slogan. They also succeeded in persuading the Social-Democratic representatives to reject this slogan.

The April appeal of the People's Front committee no longer contains the slogan of the democratic republic. In one of its pamphlets, *How to Overthrow Hitler*, the Socialist Workers' Party writes:

"Not a democratic Germany will follow, directly or indirectly after the Third Reich, but a German Soviet Republic, the next and decisive link in the chain of the world revolution."

This assertion completely corresponds to the whole of the agitation against the People's Front of the Socialist Workers' Party which wants to prevent members of the middle classes and peasantry from adhering to the People's Front.

When the Communists in their draft platform of the People's Front put forward the slogan of the democratic republic and not that of the proletarian dictatorship, they take into consideration the fact that in order victoriously to overthrow Hitler fascism, not only the workers but also the middle classes and the peasantry as well as all those who want to be freed from barbaric fascism are needed. Therefore, slogans must be put forward of the kind for which all these strata are ready to fight. It would be self-deception to think that the majority of the German working class, the middle classes and the peasantry are already prepared to fight for Soviet power. They have still be be won to its support. That will be best advanced by the experience accumulated by the masses in their fight for their emancipation. The experiences of the masses in these battles against all counter-revolutionary forces and the question as to what mass forces can be developed in these struggles will be of the greatest importance in the solution of the question of the form of state power after the overthrow of Hitler. Comrade Dimitroff aptly expressed this in the concluding speech to his report at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern:

"The whole question boils down to this: Will the proletariat itself he prepared at the decisive moment for the direct overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of its own power, and will it be able in that event to secure the support of its allies? Or, will the movement of the united proletarian front and the anti-fascist People's Front at the particular stage be in a position only to suppress or overthrow fascism, without directly proceeding to abolish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie? In the latter case it would be an intolerable piece of political shortsightedness, and not serious revolutionary politics, to use this alone as a ground for refusing to create and support a united front or a People's Front government."*

It is a completely misleading idea to imagine that the People's Front can bring about a socialist Germany and socialism without a proletarian revolution and without Soviet power. Such an idea corresponds to the ideology of reformism which rejects the class struggle just as much as the proletarian revolution. Here lies the reason why a large section of the Socialist leaders rejects Soviet power and wages a campaign against it. The fact is ignored by the reformists that big business, like fascism, will not voluntarily abdicate but can be only overcome by wide mass struggles. But reformism has a holy horror of just this work of organizing these mass struggles, and tries in all possible ways to prevent the organizing of these mass struggles.

Just as misleading also is the opinion

* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front Against War and Fascism*, pp. 108-09.

that a People's Front government can simply expropriate the big landed estates, nationalize the key industries and the banks without at the same time conducting the most vigorous mass battles for the carrying through of these measures which aim at the very heart of capitalist society. It is peculiar to all those socialization and nationalization plans of the Socialists that they only put forward demands without indicating the measures necessary for carrying them out, for developing and intensifying the mass struggles. And so these socialization and nationalization plans merely amount to pseudo-radical phrases designed to deceive the masses. The Communists cannot agree to such deceptive maneuvers, and must clearly point out the conditions that need to be created for carrying through such measures.

Recently, endeavors have been made which, under the guise of extending the People's Front, are directed towards hindering it or breaking it up. This refers to the attempt to form a so-called "German Party of Freedom" in Germany, as undertaken by the emigre National-Socialist, Otto Strasser. It seemed at first as if this "Party of Freedom" has been formed in the closest contact with the People's Front committee. But the published documents of this "Party of Freedom" show that its formation is only a maneuver in order to keep bourgeois anti-fascist circles from adhering to the German People's Front, and to use them in the interests of National-Socialism. In one of the latest appeals Otto Strasser openly shows his hand when he declares that he sees his task to be that of fighting Communism, *i.e.*, that part of the German People's Front which is fundamentally its initiator and most active defender. The People's Front without the Communists would be like a knife without a blade. This would mean that the People's Front would be deprived of its most important link, namely, the united front of the working class. Without the Communists no united front is possible, and without the united front there can be no People's Front.

These plans of Otto Strasser, of building the People's Front without the Communists, seem to be finding an echo in the Social-Democratic leadership, the majority of which, the Wels group, had already placed great hopes at an earlier stage on the movement propagated by Strasser under the name "People's Socialism." They count on this movement, the so-called "third force," which they imagine has more prospects than the Communists and Social-Democrats of organizing the forces in Germany for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. It would, however, be completely false to assume that Strasser has anything like this in view.

It is also doubtful if the National-Socialist emigré Strasser is working for a "reform" of Hitler fascism on lines more in the interests of the masses of working people and less in the interests of the big bourgeoisie. In actual fact, Strasser is not encroaching on the existence of the Hitler dictatorship, and would undoubtedly come forward as its most active defender if Hitler were once again to receive him into the arms of this dictatorship. As a matter of fact the "German Party of Freedom" exists in name only, and serves only to sign some of the leaflets put out by the Strasser group. But nevertheless it shows what deep roots the idea of the People's Front has already struck among the masses in Germany when elements like Strasser try to use the name of the People's Front for their reactionary purposes.

In face of these attempts, the forces working towards the formation of the People's Front must do everything to win those elements for the People's Front who have allowed themselves to be lulled by the demagogic phrases of a Strasser in the belief that he is really fighting the fascist regime and wants socialism. But, it is all the more necessary therefore thoroughly to expose this demagogy of Strasser.

All these reactionary attempts to hold up the formation of the People's Front, as well as the still existing unclarity on the tasks and aims of the People's Front,

eflect the great weakness of Communist ropaganda for the united and People's ront. The Communists have not sufficiently understood how to support, by heir work and agitation, the great enhusiasm which has siezed hold of the masses of the working people of Germany after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and after the brilliant victories of the united and People's Front in the last two years. The sectarianism which still exists has been a great hindrance in this work.

The weaknesses of the work of the Communists make it possible for the enemies of the united and People's Front to introduce confusion among the masses and to prevent them from recognizing the great importance of the united and People's Front in the fight of the masses for the overthrow of Hitler fascism. The growing unrest among wide masses of the German people must be turned into a recognition of the need for organized struggle, for the formation of the united and the People's Front. Herein lies the supreme task facing all Communists and all other adherents of the united and the People's Front movement.

Solidarity with the victims of fascist terror, the fight for the release of the imprisoned anti-fascists, for the release of Ernst Thaelmann, Ossietsky, Heilmann, Schuhmacher and many other Communist, Social-Democratic and Catholic anti-fascists weld the great alliance of the German people against fascism. In the fight against the Hitler government's brazen war provocation, against the military intervention in Spain, for the maintenance of peace, the united and the People's Front will be brought about in Germany also, in spite of all difficulties.

The Fight Against Fascism in Hungary

BY ALEXANDER POLL

HUNGARY is a small country, but its history is rich in pages bright with its people's fight for emancipation. In the last century the Hungarian people twice stepped onto the stage of history with the flag of liberty in its hands. During the revolution of 1848, Hungary fought for its national independence. In the first round of the revolutions which followed the imperialist war, the Hungarian proletariat overthrew the "Hungary of the Gentlemen," which was burdened with the remnants of feudalism, and planted the flag of proletarian revolution in the heart of Europe.

After the defeat of the revolution in 1919 the darkest reaction broke out over Hungary. Horthy's regime of White terror was the first example of the barbaric fascist form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Hungarian bourgeoisie, who once again seized power with the help of foreign armies, offered its services to any bloc that was directed against the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Hungary could not be an important card in the game of the great powers. Only in 1927 did Bethlen succeed in some degree in emerging from isolation and in concluding a treaty of friendship with Italy "for all eternity."

But Hitler's advent to power increased the political importance of Hungary by reason of the preparation of a new world war by the fascists. Hungary's role has grown especially since close collaboration was established between German and Italian fascism, since the "Berlin-Rome axis" (the expression itself coined in Hungary) came into existence. The Hungarian bourgeoisie strengthened its friendly relations with two fascist powers. This was a step towards the breaking up of the Little Entente and the isolation of Czechoslovakia.

Hungary became one of the favorite objects of German policy; it could play the role of an important base and "storehouse" in case of war against the Soviet Union and the democratic states. In March of this year an attempt at a fascist putsch was undertaken in Hungary, with the object of bringing about the complete fascization of Hungary according to the pattern of Hitler Germany. For the time being this attempt has not succeeded, and Hitler has had to content himself with the method of "peaceful persuasion," diplomatic visits and economic penetration. The latest visits of Neurath and Blomberg to Budapest have been attempts to extend the "Berlin-Rome axis" and to hammer out a parallel subsidiary axis of the Balkan states.

In this situation the further development of Hungarian home and foreign policy assumes special significance as a result of the alliance of the Hungarian bourgeoisie with the fascist states. The central position of the country in the Danube basin makes easier the war moves of German imperialism against the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The development of Hungarian democracy on the contrary would assist progressive tendencies throughout the Danube basin and the Balkans and become a real sentry guarding the peace policy of the democratic states.

What are the prospects of the struggle against fascism and for democracy?

The wave of fascism broke on the anti-

ascist sentiments of the people. Naurally the fear of the Hungarian ourgeoisie and big landlords of the erspective of being turned into a Gerıan Krupp-Thyssen colony played a onsiderable role here.

The policy of autarchy pursued by itler Germany in the sphere of foreign ade led to Hungary becoming possessed foreign credits to the tune of some undred million marks, since Germany nly "paid" for agrarian products purased (live cattle, fats, meat, raw marials) with out-of-date industrial prodcts and old-fashioned war materials.

With the death of Goemboes the fascist ave ebbed but the Hungarian working eople are nevertheless not protected by ny reliable dam against a new assault. The new Prime Minister Daranyi aves door and gate open for fresh atmpts to establish an open fascist dictorship. Horthy's role too is not in ubt; from the very beginning a deender of reactionary methods of governent he is an enthusiastic supporter of l fascist tendencies. He has a decisive fluence on the army and the genrmerie. In the government there are vo Ministers who are supporters of enly fascist trends. In the government rties there is a special group of outght allies of the "opposition" fascist rties. An important support of fascism the civil service of the country, the ste of officials and judges, which till w has opposed all democratic efforts d has permitted the bloody suppression the workers and peasants.

A serious force favoring fascism is e officers' "League of Ex-Service Men," d the so-called "National Labor Cenr" which is trying with state assistance secure the monopoly of organizing the rking class movement.

The parties which stand for an open scist program are, it is true, not organtionally united as yet (the "Crusade" ovement, the recently suppressed arty of the National Will" and several all groups) but their spirit and tenncies are identical; wild anti-Semitism d chauvinism, based on the race theory, are spiced with clever social demagogy, and spread by the press of all these groups. These newspapers are financed by Hitler. The wing of the United Christian Party known as the "Blue Cross" is also an auxiliary group of fascism and stands for the bloody traditions of the White terror.

Why, then, in spite of these weighty forces did Goemboes fail to bring about a totalitarian fascist dictatorship in Hungary? Why did the attempt at a fascist putsch in March miscarry?

An important role in this respect was undoubtedly played by the fact that neither Goemboes' "15 points," nor the demagogy of the "Crusaders," drew a response from the vast mass of the Hungarian people. It was precisely for this reason that the lead given by Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh World Congress should under no circumstances have been underestimated in Hungary:

"In certain countries," said Dimitroff, "principally those in which fascism does not enjoy a broad mass basis and in which the struggle of the various groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is fairly acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows the other bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic parties, to retain a certain degree of legality."

The strongly fascized reactionary rule of the Hungarian bourgeoisie is an example of how the development of fascism in the different countries takes on different forms according to their historical, social and economic peculiarities. The present form of the rule of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, whose peculiar feature is to hide fascist oppression behind a democratic cover, is characterized in Hungary itself as "conservative reaction." This conservative-reactionary tendency endeavors to give the existing tendencies towards Hitlerization a form which most closely corresponds to its class interests. The most important manifestation of this was Bethlen's speech in which, in view of the attempts at a putsch and the demagogy of the fascists,

he announced the necessity for coordinating the bourgeois parties in the interests of "democratic development."

The attitude of the legitimist and Catholic camps towards the Hitlerization of Hungary is also one of a certain anxiety. They put the "Constitution" forward as a dam against the efforts for totalitarian fascism.

The opposition inside the conservative camp to open fascist dictatorship was shown quite clearly during the attempts at the putsch in March, when Daranyi counseled "prudence" and recently in the treatment of the question of the constitutional reforms or rather on the extension of the powers of the regent.

English influence, of course, plays a certain role in the development of these conservative tendencies. The connections between Eckhardt, the leader of the small landholders' party and Knox, the English ambassador in Budapest, and the visits of British politicians all go to strengthen the forces and the influences which are working against German hegemony. Some representatives of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, who fear German predominance, favor definite or exclusively Italian orientation particularly after Schussnigg's journey to Venice. But such a change of policy is incompatible with the agreement between Hitler and Mussolini.

The conservative reactionaries in the last analysis are striving to stabilize the rule of the Hungarian bourgeoisie in such a form as to avoid Hitlerization, but by no means to permit of a real democratic reorganization of the country.

"Conservative reaction" means ruin and serfdom for the working people of Hungary, but tomorrow it may be developed into open barbaric fascism. On the other hand, the national independence of Hungary is threatened by the war preparations of Hitler and Mussolini (whether the orientation of the Hungarian reactionaries is German or Italian). Increasingly large masses of the Hungarian people are recognizing the fact that the solution of the question of bread, liberty and peace can only result from a far-reaching democratic *reconstruction of the country.*

The relative calm which existed in Hungary during the years of the so-called "consolidation" was disturbed by constant expressions of the dissatisfaction of the masses. With the development of the world economic crisis, the insoluble social contradictions became still sharper. But even the improvement in the economic situation did not ease the conditions of the Hungarian working people. The total amount paid in wages has been reduced even when compared to the period of maximum unemployment. While the unemployment figures in the towns have been reduced several points per cent, there is still a tremendous army of unemployed in the villages.

It is not for nothing that the Left writers of Hungary have described Hungary as "the land of three million beggars," with a total population of eight and one-half millions. There is no development of social insurance. The state, which undertook the regulation of wages and the working day, lays down a starvation wage for the worker. The rise in the prices of agricultural products, which is a result of the factual monopoly of agricultural foreign trade by the agrarians, brings profits only to the big landowners and kulaks, but further burdens to the small peasants. The conditions of the urban petty bourgeoisie have also not improved. The number of unemployed intellectuals is increasing.

The unsolved question of bread, the absence of political liberty and the threatening war raise the questions sharply before the masses: How much longer? What will the future bring?

The Hungarian proletariat in its fight for democracy can draw a great deal from its great revolutionary past, for it has been the most consistent fighter for the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The Hungarian workers even in the darkest days of reaction never ceased their struggle. Today also they are tirelessly resisting the attacks of capital. The last strike of the miners in Fuenf-

kirchen and the strikes in other branches f industry prove that the working class loes not cease its struggle for democracy. Since the working class of Hungary has had the example of the Spanish and French working class movements, since t has seen in the movement of the united front and the People's Front the best upport in the fight for its class inter-sts, it has begun more and more con-ciously to create and stand at the head f a democratic front of the people.

But the working class can only carry n its class struggles if its conscious ection is organized, if the tactics of its arty are correct. The Right-wing lead-rs of the Social-Democratic Party have ot yet drawn the lessons from the fas-ist danger. They are even trying to resent the People's Front as a continu-tion of the policy of class collaboration, s the usual coalition policy.

Because of their legality the Social-emocratic Party of Hungary and the ree trade unions unite a considerable ection of the working class; but the ight-wing leaders of the Social-Demo-ratic Party with their tactics of re-reat and adaptation, with their slogan f "let sleeping dogs lie" have no in-ntion of defending the interests of the orking class and of fighting to improve heir conditions.

But the feelings of the masses of ocial-Democrats are expressed in the act that more and more declarations—o to now only in words—are appearing n the Social-Democratic press regard-ng the need for establishing the People's ront. Unfortunately, no initiative is eing developed in this direction in the mportant concrete questions of political fe. The demand for an electoral reform r other parties or groups receives all o little response from the leadership Social-Democracy, which is disinclined make an appeal to these parties for a int struggle for certain democratic de-ands. And so the masses in these pposition parties" are not drawn into e struggle and the honest democratic rivings of the people are frequently ilized in the interests of reaction.

In questions of foreign policy, too, the attitude of the reactionary leaders of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party does not contribute to the warding off of the aggressive machinations of the fascist states. The Social-Democratic press contains all the slanders which the reactionaries use in their campaign against the U.S.S.R. On the other hand, this press is not consistent in supporting the demand for collaboration with the democratic countries.

The policy of the Right-wing leaders of Social-Democracy is a serious obstacle to the working class in its strivings to gather around it the democratic forces of all strata of the working people of Hungary, to strengthen and lead them.

The acute problems which face the Hungarian people are arousing democratic desires on the part of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the advanced intellectuals. In recent years there has arisen a special "village research" literature. A number of gifted writers have gathered together a great deal of factual material which testifies to the scandalous mass poverty in the village. But the authors still vacillate with regard to the conclusions to be drawn from this interesting research.

Almost all these writers see that the people are going to ruin as a result of the feudal remnants, and of the license of the administrative authorities. Therefore, there are all coming out in favor of a radical land reform. But their failure to understand the leading role of the working class is a serious obstacle in the way of their development in a consistently democratic direction. Starting from a kind of "Hungarian Narodniki" viewpoint they expect a solution of these "cursed questions" by a peasant revolution, to be led by the intellectuals. The best-known writers of this current of thought and the progressive students have put forward a program which contains twelve points (democratic reorganization of Hungary, democratic rights and liberties, freedom of trade union organization, expropriation of large landed estates of over 500 *yoch*, and other social

demands). The twelfth point of this program demands the fight against "the pan-German and pan-Slav danger."

The fascist warmongers who are conducting a demagogic campaign against the Soviet-Czechoslovak pact also talk about the "pan-Slav danger." The fact that the democratic intellectuals have taken up this fascist slogan shows how much harmful confusion still exists in their views, notwithstanding their honest democratic endeavors. With greater attention and initiative on the part of the working class the process of the ideological development of these people could be considerably hastened. In any case some of these demands which concern the democratic reorganization of Hungary are compatible with the future platform of a wide anti-fascist movement.

The vanguard fighters of Hungarian democracy are in a difficult position. A most brutal terror is being waged against the fighters for liberty, and the organizations of the working class. At the first sign of mental ferment, the state prosecutor comes on the scene and the reactionary press begins a hostile campaign. In order to take the wind out of the sails of the fascist demagogues the democratic elements must take up the fight against their own weaknesses. Only then will they succeed in breaking the power of conservative reaction and in creating a democratic Hungary which will bring the people peace, liberty and bread.

Nevertheless, it is not only the "democrats" who are the bedfellows of the big capitalists and landlords, not only the Right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic Party who are to blame that the democratic strivings of the working people have not yet been expressed in a common program nor yet in common action which could oppose the fascist assaults and tendencies. The sectarian line of the old Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary, headed by Bela Kun—at bottom at Trotskyist line—has also prevented the active development of the democratic movement and its unification.

Illegality does not absolve the Communist Party of Hungary from being the pioneers of the struggle of the Hungarian working people for a democratic Hungary. But the old Central Committee ignored the fight for democracy and the People's Front by masquerading with "radical" slogans—regardless of the concrete conditions of the fight against fascism and war, regardless of the concrete political situation in the country. The old Central Committee had no wish to take the warning words of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern into account and lulled itself with the assertion that the Communist Party of Hungary "did not need any sharp turn."

Stubbornly, step by step, the Party is overcoming the consequences of the criminal sectarian policy of the old Central Committee, and is fighting energetically against all who sabotage the resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. No obstacle exists in the ranks of the working class to the formation of the People's Front, nor can there be any insurmountable obstacles among the Social-Democratic leaders. The Communist Party of Hungary, armed with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, is helping the ideological growth of the democratic elements, and by its bold initiative is furthering the unification of the anti-fascist forces.

The Communist Party of Hungary is taking on the great task of achieving *the formation of the People's Front*, in the hard daily struggle and on the basis of the best traditions of Hungarian history and the Hungarian working class movement. As the best representative of the interests of the Hungarian people, the Communist Party is fighting against fascism, against the policy of war, for the democratic reorganization of the country. By their many-sided and dogged work for the reorganization of the Party, the Communists in Hungary are joining in the common struggle of the other sections of the Comintern which aims at bringing the resolutions of the Seventh Congress to the masses, and making them flesh and blood of the millions of working people of their country.

The New Stage of Japanese Aggression and the New Period of the Struggle of the Chinese People

BY WANG MING

THE Japanese aggressors have begun a new big military offensive against China. Chinese troops are offering armed resistance to Japanese aggression. China is in flames! Actually a Sino-Japanese war of hitherto unprecedented dimension has already begun.

On July 7 the Japanese military made a sudden attack upon Liukouchiao and were met with the heroic resistance of the 37th Division of the 29th Chinese Army. In order to gain time to bring up reinforcements and conceal their real plans of further military action from public opinion, the Japanese militarists hypocritically declared the events in Liukouchiao to be "accidental," "a local incident." Subsequent facts, however, have thoroughly exposed the real aim of the new offensive of the Japanese aggressor in China.

THE EXPLANATION OF THE NEW OFFENSIVE OF JAPANESE MILITARISM AGAINST CHINA

It has always been the dream of the ruling classes of imperialist Japan to establish their rule in China and completely enslave the Chinese people. The history of the aggressive actions of Japanese imperialism against China can be divided into the following four main stages:

The first stage, from the Sino-Japanese War (1895) until the world imperialist war of 1914-1918. During that period Japan seized parts of China proper and territories under Chinese rule; namely, Riukiu Islands, Formosa, the Pescadores islands, the Kwangtung Region concession and Korea.

The second stage, from the time of the world imperialist war to the Mukden events of September 18, 1931. The Japanese imperialists seized Kiaochow and Tsingtao (German concessions at that time in China), advanced their troops towards the town of Tsinan, and on January 18, 1915, presented Yuan Shi-kai with what are known as the 21 demands, the operations of which would in fact have meant the conversion of China into a Japanese colony.

The third stage, from the Mukden events of 1931 to the events in Liukouchiao in July of the present year. During these six years the Japanese imperialists have seized three Northeast provinces (*i.e.*, Manchuria) and part of the territory of what is known as Inner Mongolia (the whole of the Jehol province and six administrative divisions of North Chahar). The seizure of Manchuria and Jehol by Japanese imperialism was a huge economic and political blow at China.

The fourth stage opens with the Japanese offensive against Liukouchiao. The immediate and prime task of this offensive was the seizure of the five North provinces of China (Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi, Shantung). The

seizure of these five provinces would provide Japanese imperialism with rich sources of raw materials, and an extensive and wealthy market such as has never been known in the whole history of the Japanese empire. However, the military operations of the Japanese troops in the Shanghai-Nanking district go to prove that on this occasion the Japanese aggressors are not restricting themselves to military operations within the bounds of the Northern provinces.

The present military operations of Japanese imperialism, after the seizure of Manchuria and Jehol, signify a new stage in the fulfilment of the monstrous Tanaka Plan.

This plan is aimed at the absorption of China, at preparations for the seizure of India, Indo-China, the Philippines, Indonesia and Australia, as well as for a "big war" against the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and England, with a view to winning world domination for the Pan-Japanese Empire. To conquer the whole of China, Manchuria and Mongolia must first be seized, and to conquer the whole world the whole of China must be seized —this is the cherished idea of Tanaka that the Japanese fascist militarists are today trying to carry out.

The open intervention of the German and Italian fascist aggressors in Spain, and in this connection the severe tension throughout Europe; the policy of, in fact, tolerating fascist aggression pursued by the British government both in relation to Ethiopia and Spain and to China; the wait-and-see attitude of the government of the U.S.A.; the impotence of the League of Nations in face of the fascist fomenters of war; the conclusion of the alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy; and finally, the absence, till now, of any real militant unity of action of the international proletariat against fascism and war, in consequence of the rejection by the reactionary leaders of the Socialist International of the proposals of the Comintern—all these are the chief facts in the present international situation, which facilitate the fulfilment of the robber plans of Japanese fascist militarism and are encouraging it to new aggressive acts in China.

The growth of anti-war and anti-fascist sentiments among the working masses of Japan; the increasing conflicts between labor and capital; between the landowners and tenant farmers; the increase in financial difficulties and the growth of discontent among the moderate section of the bourgeoisie at the adventurist policy of the fascist militarists who are leading the country to complete economic and military catastrophe—all these are the features of the situation in Japan itself, which are spurring the Japanese militarists to speed up their aggression on the Continent. Fascist militarism is trying, by means of a military adventure against the Chinese people, to set aflame a chauvinist fever, to draw the attention of the masses of the people away from the situation inside the country and introduce martial law in order mercilessly to crush the revolutionary movement and opposition forces of every kind.

Japanese militarism is hastening on its offensive against China for the purpose of suppressing the ever-growing anti-Japanese movement of the Chinese people. It is setting itself the task of crushing the Central National Nanking government, of routing the forces of the united anti-Japanese national front that is now in process of formation and its chief participants, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China, in order to decapitate and disorganize the resistance of the Chinese people and to convert China into its own colony.

However, it can be said with confidence that the insolent aggressors are miscalculating this time! Today China is not what it was during the Manchurian events. The Chinese people are ready to offer resolute resistance to the Japanese militarists, as witnessed by the recent declarations of Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Nanking government and Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Army. In connection with the events in Liukouchiao Chiang Kai-shek, in his speech delivered on July 17 in Kuling,

said that "the further development of the Liukouchiao events is a life and death question for China," while in connection with the seizure by the Japanese of Peiping and Tientsin, he declared on July 20, in an interview with the Central News Agency:

"When the whole of our people see that the country is passing through a critical period, that it is a question of our very existence, the whole of our people will fight to the end as one man."

Part of the Chinese troops and air-fleet have already begun national-defensive military operations in Shanghai, Hangchow, Nanking, Nanchang, Hopei and Chahar, against the Japanese aggressor. Clear proof of the indignation of the Chinese people and of their readiness to undertake a resolute struggle against the aggressor is provided by the fact that all the organized anti-Japanese political and military forces in the country have begun to unite with unparalleled rapidity.

Thus, at the National Defense Conference held in Nanking to which the Nanking government for the first time invited the leaders of the Red Army of China, Comrades Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung and Chow En-lai, along with all the prominent military leaders of the country, considerable progress was made on the question of collaboration between the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and other organizations. Actually a general mobilization of military forces is already taking place including in particular the Chinese anti-Japanese people's Red Army, for joint struggle against the common national enemy.

CAN CHINA OFFER SUCCESSFUL ARMED RESISTANCE TO JAPANESE AGGRESSION?

In the very first days of the Manchurian events, the Communist Party of China gave a clear and positive reply to this question. The huge majority of the Chinese people share this viewpoint. But many politicians and military men of China, because of their "fear of Japan" and under the influence of pro-Japanese elements, have for a long time opposed armed resistance to Japanese aggression. True, the supporters of this so-called theory of "non-resistance" are becoming fewer in numbers with every day that passes. However, the thorough unmasking of their arguments is an inseparable part of the common struggle to bring about real armed resistance to the ever increasing aggression of Japan.

The supporters of this theory, the theory that China cannot be victorious in an armed struggle against Japan, assert that China is a country that is weak as to military technique and industry, and is unprepared as yet to undertake armed resistance to the external enemy; that China will inevitably meet the fate of Ethiopia or, at best, of Spain if it should resort to armed resistance to the Japanese aggressor. In this connection they deliberately water down the tremendous difference that exists between China and Ethiopia or even Spain from the point of view of internal resources for the struggle against the invaders.

It is a fact that as regards military technique and industry, China is a weak country, and that precisely for this reason all the big and even small capitalist countries have beaten the Chinese. The weakness of China was emphasized by Joseph Stalin, the leader of the peoples, in his report on the results of the First Five-Year Plan when he said that had the U.S.S.R. not been industrialized its position would have been more or less analogous to the position of China today, "which has no heavy industry, and is now set on by all who have a mind to do so!"

The Chinese Communists understand full well that the level of the development of the heavy industry and the military and technical equipment of the army are of tremendous importance in modern warfare. But at the same time Marxist-Leninists recognize another truth, proved by history, namely, that it is living people who in the long run decide the outcome of war.

In order to offer armed resistance to

Japanese imperialism, which is armed to the teeth, China must prepare. But how? The advocates of the "impossibility of victory for China" reduce this question merely to the purchase of arms abroad and the increase of the production of armaments within China, since, in their opinion, as long as China has not the same armaments as the enemy, it cannot offer successful armed resistance to the aggressor.

It is, of course, essential to rearm and completely arm China, but arguments to the effect that as long as China's armaments do not equal the armaments of Japan China cannot resist Japanese aggression are radically wrong and harmful. And first and foremost because in this respect China is immeasurably behind Japan which latter will not allow China to catch up in peace to the level of its own armaments.

The seizure by the Japanese aggressors of the extensive territory of Manchuria and Jehol with their huge wealth and resources has already delivered a serious blow against China's capacity to defend itself, and should China now lose in addition the five Northern provinces and the Shanghai-Nanking region, its power to defend itself will be reduced to an extraordinary degree.

What does the loss of Manchuria, Jehol and the five Northern provinces mean for the defense of China? Why, it means the loss of over one-quarter of China's population, over one-fifth of its territory, nine-tenths of its total iron ore deposits, two-thirds of its railways, four-fifths of its total output of coal, one-half of its total coal reserves, and one-half of its total output of salt, etc. It is clear that if China fails to defend these very rich provinces against Japanese occupation, not only will it hand over a huge part of its population to the license of the Japanese barbarians, not only will its extensive territories facilitate the military operations of the enemy, not only will its rich coal, iron and salt reserves, and its railways fall into the hands of the mortal enemy of the Chinese people, but at the same time it will be finally deprived of a raw materials base, and of the basis for the development of its heavy and war industry.

And what, further, does the loss of Shanghai mean for China? It means not only the loss of the largest economic, industrial, political and cultural city in the land; it also means handing over to the enemy the most important military-strategic center of the country, and opening to the Japanese aggressor the gates to all the rich regions along the Yangtse River, thus creating a constant menace to the capital of the Chinese Republic—Nanking. Should the Chinese people fail to defend the Shanghai-Nanking region, the aggressor would deal a blow at the very heart of China.

It should also be pointed out to the supporters of the "impossibility-of-victory-for-China" theory that the purchase of arms and receipt of aid from abroad also depend to a tremendous degree upon the strength of resistance and the wealth of China itself at the given moment. It is a bitter truth of our times that nobody has any consideration for the weak and those who cannot defend themselves. And if on the heels of the loss of Jehol and Manchuria, China loses its Northern Provinces, loses its most important Shanghai-Nanking region, it will be still poorer and weaker and the chances of being able to secure loans, arms and other forms of aid from abroad will become still smaller.

On the contrary, if China seriously undertakes an armed struggle to defend its territorial integrity and national independence, then in the process of the struggle it can rearm itself both from out of its own resources and from the purchase of arms from abroad. The clearest possible proof of this is provided by the experience of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist rebellion of Franco and the German-Italian intervention. The area covered by Spain is incomparably smaller than that covered by China, whose population is twenty times larger than that of Spain. From the viewpoint of industrial development, Spain is one of the

most backward countries in Europe. The Spanish Republican government began its military operations against the fascist rebels with irregular army units made up of badly armed factory workers and other working people. But thanks to the common efforts of all the parties and organizations of the People's Front, and first and foremost of the Communist Party of Spain, thanks to the solidarity and aid rendered by the international proletariat and the democratic and anti-fascist forces, the Spanish Republic has, during the course of one year's armed fighting, not only created a regular army of half a million men, but has also managed to provide its army with modern military equipment.

And if the comparatively small Spanish Republic has been able in the course of the armed struggle to form its army and secure the necessary armaments, why cannot the great Chinese Republic do the same? If Republican Spain is successfully offering armed resistance to the joint forces of fascist Germany and Italy which have invaded its territory, why cannot the huge country of China offer successful armed resistance to the armed forces of the one Japanese aggressor? For apart from his military and technical superiority during the first period of the war, the Japanese aggressor yields place to the united national forces of the Chinese people as regards the remaining conditions necessary to insure victory.

The supporters of the idea of the "impossibility of victory for China" imagine that the weaker the resistance to the foreign aggressor, the less the sacrifices for China. But the indisputable historical facts of Sino-Japanese relations themselves completely refute this argument. In the year 1895, China offered armed resistance to Japanese aggression. Although China suffered defeat at that time, it nevertheless lost comparatively little territory.

In the years 1914-1919, the Chinese people resolutely protested against Japanese aggression, and as a result Japanese imperialism was unable to force China to carry out the 21 oppressive demands. But in 1931, in connection with the Mukden events the Nanking government pursued a policy of non-resistance, and as a result Japan in a very short time occupied the whole of Manchuria and, immediately afterwards, Jehol as well. This was the biggest territorial loss suffered by China in the last hundred years. In the year 1932, the 19th and 5th Chinese Armies, together with the Shanghai proletariat and Communists, offered heroic resistance to the Japanese troops, with the result that China saved Shanghai from Japanese occupation.

In the year 1936 the Suiyuan-Shansi troops heroically resisted the so-called united Japano-Mongol-Manchurian troops, and as a result the aggressor was temporarily forced to retreat from these provinces. And now in connection with the new big Japanese military invasion, the question that directly faces China is: Either it will seriously defend its national existence—*then life*, or it will not resist Japanese aggression—*and then death*. The Chinese people must choose one of two possible roads: either they will succumb to the doctrine of those who support the "impossibility of victory for China," and take the road of non-resistance, allegedly "to avoid too great sacrifices," and thus convert the whole of China into the victim of the Japanese aggressors; or else they will take the road of the Spanish people, even at the cost of temporary partial sacrifices, and defend the territories and wealth not yet lost, win back the lands and wealth of the people already seized by the aggressor, and save the working people of China from the barbarity of the fascist militarists of Japan, and the entire people of China from enslavement.

In other words, either the Chinese people, at the cost of partial and temporary sacrifices, will defend and win back everything, or, they will harp about the "undesirability of great sacrifices" in words, and in deeds lose everything, including national independence, the people's liberty, the wealth of the country. There is no middle course.

The supporters of the "non-resistance theory," who make their starting point the alleged impossibility of victory for China, advance still further considerations of an international character. According to them the foreign situation of China is as yet unfavorable for armed resistance to the Japanese aggressor.

True, the foreign situation for China today is still not as brilliant as we would like from the viewpoint of the defense of our country. But Japan is in a position no better than China. The new aggression of Japan threatens not only the national existence of the Chinese people, but also menaces the interests of the U.S.A., England and France. By its aggression, Japan is violating the Covenant of the League of Nations, the treaty obligations of the Nine-Power Pact, and other international agreements, thereby encouraging the aggression of fascist Germany and Italy in Spain and throughout Europe. It is a menace to universal peace.

"The situation is now developing in such a way that to maintain peace throughout the world means first and foremost to bring about the defeat of the fascist invaders of Spain and China."*

The worsening foreign situation of Japanese imperialism eases the struggle of the Chinese people. More than ever before Japan is isolated on the international arena; her allies in what is known as the "anti-Comintern agreement," namely, fascist Germany and Italy, are not in a position to give Japan military aid to the extent they would have done had they not been tied by their intervention in Spain; they will hardly be in a position to give her war credits, since they themselves are suffering to no less a degree from financial difficulties than their obliging ally.

On the other hand, the struggle of the Chinese people against the aggressor and fomenter of war in the East is, like the struggle of the Spanish people against German and Italian fascism, not only a question of defending their own national existence and their own freedom, but also a component part of the struggle of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind against fascism and war, for democracy and peace. The solidarity and sympathy of the international proletariat and of all honest, peace-loving and democratic forces are on the side of the Chinese people.

Consequently, neither the internal nor the international position of China can justify the assertion of the supporters of the "non-resistance" theory that China is not in a position to offer up successful armed resistance to Japanese aggression.

However, it by no means follows therefrom that the struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressor is an easy matter, or that China is already guaranteed victory in advance. The armed struggle of the Chinese people to preserve their national independence is faced with tremendous weaknesses and difficulties, to overcome which requires the exertion of tremendous efforts by them.

The first chief difficulty is the *far from adequate organization and unity of the national forces of China.* Although, thanks to the tireless struggle by the Communists and the masses of the people, as well as by the progressive elements inside the Kuomintang, the internecine warfare has in the recent period ceased in the country, and a process has begun of the peaceful unification of all the anti-Japanese national forces, yet the realization of this unity is still far from what is needed if successful armed resistance is to be offered up to the foreign enemy. The many millions of the Chinese people, who constitute one-fifth of the whole of mankind, can only become *an invincible force when they are united and organized into one indestructible national force.*

The second fundamental difficulty in the armed struggle against the aggressor arises out of the backwardness of China as regards military and technical equipment. Although the Chinese troops, who

* Georgi Dimitroff, *Fascism Is War*, pp. 12-13. Workers Library Publishers, New York.

are self-sacrificing and enduring in the battles against the foreign invaders, many times outnumber the regular infantry units of Japan, yet from the viewpoint of military and technical equipment they are far inferior to their Japanese enemy. Despite a considerable increase in the number of planes, the training of new pilots, and their heroism and skill, the aviation of China is still not strong enough.

The navy of China is weak both quantitatively and qualitatively. The strengthening and consolidation of the naval forces for coastal defense is one of the most urgent fighting tasks facing the Chinese people and the Nanking government. The Chinese troops and population are practically unprepared for chemical warfare, while the cannibals, the Japanese fascists, are already beginning to employ poison gases against the Chinese people.

Finally, in connection with their weak military and technical equipment and the absence of experience in modern warfare, the Chinese troops have not at their disposal the necessary number of military and technical cadres. Although the experience of the Spanish Republic has shown that such weaknesses and difficulties can be overcome in the course of the war, they make themselves felt particularly in the first stage of the war.

Thirdly, a fundamental difficulty in the anti-Japanese struggle is that Japanese imperialism has had great experience of espionage and disruption work, experience in utilizing deception, bribery and intrigues against oppressed peoples. The military-political intelligence service of Japan—the so-called "special service department"—has for decades been able to place its numerous spying agents, diversionists, terrorists, and provocateurs at all the more or less important military-strategic and political points and organizations of China, including also a section of leading political and military men.

Many of these agents are deliberately abstaining for the time being from active operations in anticipation of a suitable moment to deliver a decisive blow at the most important points.

Finally, the fourth fundamental difficulty arising out of the economic backwardness, financial poverty and extremely limited communication lines in the country consists of the fact that the Chinese troops will experience the scantiness of and hitches in the supply of armaments, ammunition and provisions, and also difficulties in transferring reinforcements and ensuring the rapid and timely operative and maneuvering capacity of the troops, etc.

Yes, the difficulties and weaknesses facing semi-colonial China in the armed struggle against imperialist Japan are numerous and extremely serious. And so the task of the Communists and of the whole of the Chinese people is to find means and courage to overcome them. It would be a crime against the people to fear these difficulties and weaknesses. Today the whole of the Chinese people, with the exception of Japanese agents, national traitors and incorrigible cowards and chatterers, are no longer confronted with the question as to whether "China ought or can offer armed resistance to Japanese aggression"; today the only question that faces China is how to *organize* this armed resistance and how to *guarantee the victory* of the Chinese people in this hard but glorious national liberation struggle!

HOW TO ORGANIZE ON A NATIONAL SCALE ARMED RESISTANCE BY THE CHINESE PEOPLE TO GUARANTEE THEIR VICTORY

According to news in the foreign and Chinese press, the Kuomintang and the Central Nanking government, in the period between the Liukouchiao events and the beginning of military operations by the Japanese troops in Shanghai, *i.e.*, until August 14, adopted the following measures in the interests of organizing resistance to the new aggression of the Japanese:

1. Between 100,000 and 150,000 people have been mobilized in Hopei, Chahar

and Shantung to strengthen the defense, and aid the 29th Army.

2. A first conference of National Defense has been convened.

3. An order has been published restoring Chang Hsueh-Liang (leader of the Manchurian army) to his position of general and a readiness has been displayed to restore General Tsai Ting-kai to his position of command (Commander of the 19th Army).

4. Under pressure of a nationwide protest headed by Madame Sun Yet-sen seven arrested leaders of the "Chinese Association of National Salvation" have been released.

5. Military defense works have been begun in the regions of Shanghai, Nanking, Wuhan, etc.

6. The following commanders of the fronts have been appointed: Chiang Kai-shek—Commander-in-Chief of all the Nanking troops and commander of the 1st Army on the front along the Peiping-Hankow Railway; Feng Yu-hsiang, Commander of the 2nd Army on the front along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway line; Yan Hsi-shan—Commander of the 3rd Army of the Shansi-Suiyuan front.

It must be admitted that although these measures of the Kuomintang and Nanking government still fail to correspond to the demands of the situation or satisfy the needs of the country's defense, still, in comparison with the attitude and policy of the Kuomintang and Nanking government in the recent past, these measures are a big step forward. It was only after the Japanese offensive in the Shanghai-Nanking region that the Kuomintang and Nanking government began to offer up more serious armed resistance to Japanese aggression.

Whether the Kuomintang and the Nanking government will be able with the present leadership to organize this resistance consistently and to a victorious finish will be seen in the near future. We Communists ardently desire that the Kuomintang and the Nanking government should overcome, once and for all, the resistance of the pro-Japanese elements, and together with us and the whole of the Chinese people wage the armed struggle against the Japanese plunderers to victorious conclusion.

The Communist Party of China, for its part, deeply recognizing its responsibility for the fate of the working class and the whole of the Chinese people, has persistently insisted upon the slogan it has advanced from the very outset of the Manchurian events in 1931, namely, the slogan: "Drive Japanese imperialism out of China." Step by step, beginning with its August, 1935, Manifesto and ending with its last declarations on the events in North China, the Communist Party has put forward concrete proposals, drawn up on the basis of the policy of establishing a single national anti-Japanese front, with the aid of which the Chinese people will be able not only to offer serious armed resistance to Japanese aggression, but also to win victory.

What are the concrete proposals and demands being put forward by the Communist Party of China in its declarations and manifestos?

First, "Collaboration between all anti-Japanese parties and groupings of China on the basis of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to resist Japan and save the fatherland." The establishment of collaboration between all parties and groups in China on the basis of a political agreement regarding a common struggle against the common enemy presupposes the point that all those taking part in the agreement, the Kuomintang, Communist Party and other political organizations, maintain their political and organizational independence. True, according to the latest news in the foreign press, rapid progress is being made as regards collaboration between Kuomintang and the Communist Party; if this is true, it is to be welcomed in every way.

But in the interests of the whole of the Chinese people, certain leaders of the Kuomintang should be frankly advised to break resolutely with their erroneous attempt to convert collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China into the political and

rganizational subordination of the ommunist Party to the Kuomintang. hey also need to give up their incorrect ne of refusal to recognize anti-Japanese olitical groupings and organizations her than the Communist Party and the anking government, and to end their efusal to recognize the need for estabshing a united front with these groupngs and organizations.

They need further to give up the atempt to reduce collaboration with them forcible subordination to the Kuominang and the Nanking government. Such n attitude on the part of certain leadrs of Nanking towards the solution of roblems vital to the country and the eople only complicates and postpones ne establishment of a united anti-Japnese national front consisting of all the ally popular forces in China. Thereby ney willy-nilly constitute a hindrance the work of organizing real armed sistance to the Japanese aggressors and lay into their hands.

Second, "The creation of an all-Chinese overnment of national defense and a nited Chinese democratic republic." here is news to hand that the Kuomintang intends in the near future to reorganize the Nanking government in this irection. This is good and is to be elcomed. But if this is to be speeded p it is essential that various calumnious gends and wrong opinions be smashed nce and for all. First of all it is an bsolutely false and unfounded legend pread by pro-Japanese elements that the logan regarding the creation of an all-hinese government of national defense eans the overthrow of the existing Nanking Central government and the establshment in its place of an entirely new overnment. It is slander, provocation! t the present time only the Japanese ggressors and their agents are interested in overthrowing the Nanking govrnment.

We, Chinese Communists, openly declare that we support the Kuomintang nd the Nanking government, and will ght shoulder to shoulder with them gainst Japanese imperialism.

It is an untrue and scholastic assertion for certain incorrigible chatterboxes to declare that the slogan of the establishment of an all-Chinese government of national defense means the creation of such a government as must, without fail, call itself an all-Chinese government of national defense and that otherwise it will not really be such a government. Formalists! For it is not a question of names, but of substance! Incorrect also are the assertions of those that say the existing Nanking government has long been an all-Chinese government of national defense. No! The Nanking government has only now partially set about the fulfilment of the tasks of national defense. But it has not yet become the real all-Chinese government of national defense required by the war situation and all supporters of the united anti-Japanese national front.

The Nanking national government should and can become a truly all-Chinese government of national defense on condition that it changes its policy in the direction of conducting a resolute struggle for national independence; of bringing about the democratization of the regime, and of improving the material conditions of the masses, by removing pro-Japanese elements from the government and including in the government truly authoritative anti-Japanese militant figures from the respective parties, grouping and organizations, in accordance with expediency and the wishes of these bodies. Only such an authoritative and militant all-Chinese government, convening an all-Chinese parliament on the basis of universal suffrage, and providing the people with universal democratic liberties, can fulfil the responsible, supremely difficult and complicated task of national defense entrusted to it by the 400,000,000 people of China. Only such an all-Chinese government of national defense can ensure the general mobilization of all the military, human and economic forces of the whole country for the sacred armed struggle of the entire Chinese people against the Japanese aggressor.

There are several factors that will rapidly and effectively assist in the establishment of mutual confidence between the government and the people, and thereby increase and strengthen manifold the national defense of China. These are: the immediate release of all political prisoners, the abolition of all anti-democratic legislation directed against the people; the further revision of laws and conditions governing the convening of a National Assembly; a radical change in the draft Constitution of the Chinese republic; immediate introduction of far-reaching democratic liberties for all citizens (with the exception of national traitors and Japanese agents) — in a word, the transformation of China into a really united all-Chinese republic.

Third, "General mobilization of all military units and the establishment of an all-China united anti-Japanese army." If a successful armed struggle is to be waged against the Japanese aggressor, it requires the general mobilization of all military units in China, and this in its turn requires the establishment of an all-Chinese united anti-Japanese army by uniting all the armed forces of China, *i.e.*, all the Central Nanking armies, all the provincial armies, the anti-Japanese people's Red Army, the Manchurian anti-Japanese people's armies, etc., under a united command, with a united discipline, united supplies and arms, and a single military plan for joint military operations against the common enemy.

The Nanking government and Chiang Kai-shek are, in a certain measure, setting about the creation of such an army. We of course only welcome this step. The Red Army, together with its command and political leaders under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has repeatedly, not only in words but also in deeds, given sincere evidence of its readiness to transform itself into a component part of an all-Chinese united national-revolutionary army.

But the creation of a united all-Chinese army has long been delayed because certain of the leaders of the Nanking armies and certain Nanking political leaders have tried during the recent years, when the internecine struggle had already, in the main, come to a stop, to make use of the slogan of the establishment of a united national army to weaken and lessen the fighting power of the anti-Japanese People's Red Army. For example, demands were put forward that Comrades Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung, the most prominent, talented leaders and creators of the Red Army, resign, that the strength of the anti-Japanese people's Red Army should be reduced and curtailed, that all the chiefs of divisional Red Army headquarters' staffs be removed and replaced by others, etc. Does all this correspond to the common interests of the struggle against Japan and the work of creating a united national army?

According to the latest news, the Nanking government and the Kuomintang have already given up some of their demands while the Red Army, with a view to speeding up the establishment of the united Chinese army and the common struggle on the anti-Japanese fronts, has already officially accepted orders from Nanking regarding the appointment of its command and the renaming of the Red Army as a unit of the national revolutionary army. This is a big advance towards the creation of a united all-Chinese army.

A further serious obstacle in the way of creating a united revolutionary people's army arises from the fact that a section of the Nanking leaders have, with a view to creating a national revolutionary army, been trying to weaken the military strength of the troops in the localities. At the same time a section of the local army leaders in their old habitual way regard their troops as their "own capital" and are unwilling really to include their military forces in the united all-Chinese anti-Japanese army. These military leaders, nationally and locally, must be told openly that an increasing consciousness is to be marked among all the soldiers of the Chinese army who understand that their sacred

y is not by any means to remain the nd subjects of "their own general," consciously to fulfil the glorious task defending their country and people.

n this connection the behavior of the h Division of the 29th Army during recent events is characteristic; for en its commander, Chang Tsu-chung, pro-Japanese agent, refused the re- st of the officers and soldiers of his ision to issue an order calling for med resistance to the Japanese troops, 38th Division, against the will of commander, and under the command its best officers, went voluntarily as man to the aid of the 37th Division l took part in the defense of the Pei- g-Tientsin region against the Jap- se aggressor.

Now is the best time to test all the itary leaders of China. Were any- ly in the present conditions to reveal nself as a traitor, a coward, were he oppose action against the Japanese, would be surrounded with general ntempt as an unworthy leader, as an worthy son of his fatherland.

Fourth, "General mobilization of the ole of the Chinese people." For an ective, successful, armed struggle to waged against Japanese imperialism, is far from being enough merely to ve military forces in China. It is nec- ary to undertake the general mobiliza- n of all Chinese people fit for work, n and women, great and small, for the nt struggle to reach the common goal. e guiding principle in mobilizing the ole of our people must today be the e of our Party as expressed already its August First appeal (1935):

"If you have much money, hand it r; if you have quantities of arms, de- r them up; if you have bread and e, hand them over; if you enjoy good lth, do not spare your strength and rgy; if you have any special knowl- e, make use of it. Let all the people mobilized on these lines!"

Fifth, "General arming of the whole the Chinese people." The military rations of the Japanese air, infantry l naval forces are already showing most clearly that in modern warfare the position behind the lines differs little from that at the front. And so we must arm our people with all the types of weapons at our disposal, so that at any time and at any point our people will be able not only to defend themselves by force of arms against unexpected attacks of the Japanese and their agents, but also to afford the necessary aid to our troops at the front, and conduct guerilla warfare and diversionist work behind the enemy's lines, on his flanks, etc.

Today the Nanking government and the local authorities must first and foremost arm the millions of industrial workers and working people generally in Shanghai, Tientsin, Peiping, Hangchow, Wuchang, Tsing-tao and other big towns of the country, and also the peasant masses of the North provinces of the Kiangsu-Chekiang and Fukien-Kiangsi regions. Only by a combination of the auxiliary action of the armed masses of the people with that of regular troops, on the basis of a general military plan, will the Japanese plunderers be successfully driven out of China.

Sixth, "General mobilization of the whole of the economic life of the country and the conduct of an economic policy of national defense." Everybody understands the enormous importance in modern warfare of the general mobilization of all the country's resources, economic, financial, and raw materials. This task is particularly acute in China, an economically backward country, compelled to conduct a prolonged and extensive war against Japanese imperialism. In this respect the Chinese Communists will have to undertake much serious work along with our ally, the Kuomintang, to mobilize and organize the entire economic life of the country to correspond with the demands and conditions of national defense.

Seventh, "The safeguarding and improvement of the material conditions of the masses of the people." The masses of the people of China live in poverty, millions perish daily from hunger, floods, drought and other calamities. All chatter

to the effect that in wartime there can be no question at all of safeguarding and improving the standards of living of the masses of the people must be refuted as a harmful and useless theory. True, it is difficult in wartime to safeguard and improve the material conditions of the masses; in a national war of defense people have to make big sacrifices. But it is not only possible, but also absolutely essential in the interests of the struggle, to safeguard the elementary conditions vitally necessary for the existence of the working people and to improve their totally unbearable conditions during the armed struggle on a national scale.

Hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers and office employees, who formerly worked in Japanese enterprises, are today leaving their places of work as a protest and boycott against the enemy of the nation. But unemployment means hunger. Is it not possible to safeguard the existence of these hundreds of thousands of vanguard fighters? Of course it is.

In many parts of China the peasants are again suffering this year on account of drought and the bad harvest. Is it not possible to give elementary aid to the poor and starving peasants? Of course it is. Systematic aid must also be given to the many millions of unemployed, impoverished handicraftsmen, etc.

Eighth, "Operation of a policy of national-defensive education and aid to the unemployed and illiterate youth." In China there are tens of millions of illiterate workers and peasants, while the educational system is far from satisfying the demands either of the students themselves or of the state. Therefore, a big mass movement of the youth has been developing in China during recent years, headed by the best and most prominent figures in science and education; this movement calls for the operation of a policy of national-defensive education and aid to the unemployed and illiterate youth. The main idea of this movement is as follows:

1. Improvement of the educational system with a view to raising the national spirit of the youth and their determination to fight against the foreign enemy, for the salvation of the fatherland.

2. Reorganization of the educational system from the viewpoint of the requirements of national defense and the training of various types of specialists.

3. Freedom of conscience and study, a struggle against the compulsory education of young people in the spirit of ideas hostile to the people and the nation.

4. Military education of the youth and students.

5. Work to be provided to those who have finished their studies, and assistance given to students, etc.

The Communist Party of China wholeheartedly supports this movement of the youth and of the best of the intelligentsia in China, and has included these demands in its common program of the united national front to resist Japan and save the fatherland.

Ninth, "Confiscation of all the property of the Japanese aggressors and their agents, and the wiping out of Japanese spies and national traitors." By confiscating all the property of the Japanese aggressors and their agents, our enemies are deprived of an economic base in China; the resources obtained by carrying through this confiscation will cover part of the military expenditure and go to afford assistance to anti-Japanese fighters and their families.

It is a generally recognized fact that the state, military and party machine of the Kuomintang and other organizations, locally and nationally, is infested with Japanese agents. If the Kuomintang and the Nanking government have really decided to conduct an armed struggle against the Japanese aggressors they must not tolerate a situation where their apparatus, especially its most important branches, is infested with Japanese agents. And if this is so, then why are the Trotskyists—these open, foul traitors to the Chinese people—still allowed to conduct, with impunity,

ir foul, undermining, diversionist and ionage work at the orders of the Jap- se secret service in Shanghai, Nan- g, Sian and other parts? Is it not vell known and indisputable fact that Chinese Trotskyists are on the pay- of the Japanese secret service!

s it not the counter-revolutionary otskyist slogan that the chief enemy China is not Japanese imperialism but Communist Party of China and the sociation for National Salvation di- tly dictated by the Japanese secret vice? Is not the Trotskyist slogan "Alliance with Japan to carry on the ggle against the Communist Party Chiang Kai-shek" a direct challenge the Japanese aggressor to destroy the mmunist Party and the Kuomintang? not the Trotskyist line of the need China to conduct a national revolu- ary war not only against Japanese erialism, but against all the imperi- t powers as well directed towards ating China from Europe and Amer- in order to aid the Japanese plun- ers in China?

The Trotskyists spread about the orious anti-Leninist theory of the im- sibility of conducting national revolu- ary wars in the imperialist epoch. e Japano-Trotskyist agents direct ious attacks against the Chinese mmunist Party's slogan of the need conduct national revolutionary war ainst Japanese imperialism. Is this all in direct fulfilment of Japan's k of preaching "the theory of non- istance" in China? Are not the Trot- ist slogans of "the necessity of wag- civil war simultaneously against the my at home and a national-revolu- ary war against the enemy abroad" of the "impossibility and impermis- ility of any united front whatsoever ween the Communist Party and the omintang," the cynical fulfilment of Japanese policy in China of "con- ring China through the medium of Chinese themselves" and on no ac- nt to permit the unification of the ional forces of China for a common ggle against Japanese aggression? Lu Sin, the deceased popular writer, was profoundly right when he declared that "the views of the Trotskyists in China are welcomed only by Japanese imperialism."

During the Sian events, the Japano-Trotskyist agents, led by the bandit Chang Mu-tao, tried their utmost to foment war between Nanking and Sian. These very same agents immediately afterwards killed General Wang Yi-che, the famous national hero, the first of the higher officers of the Chinese army openly and honestly to establish the united anti-Japanese front with the Communist Party and the Red Army.

The Trotskyists, headed by the thrice contemptible renegades, Huang Ping and Chang Mu-tao, received $50,000 monthly from the Japanese secret service in North China to cover the organization of the so-called "New Party" and to conduct their wrecking work. Chang Mu-tao, the representative of the Trotskyists, was one of the so-called "delegation of friendship with Japan" and went with it to Tokio. The Trotskyists Hsui Lun-shan, Chen Sui-tsia and the blood-stained assassin Chen Chuo-san (or He-Chin) use Japanese money to publish special newspapers and periodicals in Shanghai in which they spread all kinds of slander against the Communist Party, the Kuomintang and all anti-Japanese mass organizations.

Do not all these facts prove the absolute truth of the statements of our great writer Lu Sin, who said that "the behavior of the Trotskyists renders them unworthy of being modern Chinese"? Do not all these facts go to prove that the Trotskyists are in agreement with the Japanese secret service to help Japanese imperialism to seize China? Do not all these facts go to prove that the Trotskyists are enemies not only of the Communist Party, but also of the entire Chinese people?

All these facts completely confirm the words of Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the whole working mankind, when he says that "Trotskyism . . . has changed . . . into a frantic and un-

principled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states."*

The Chinese people and world public opinion will judge of the degree of determination and readiness of the Kuomintang and Nanking government, and also of the local military and political authorities, to undertake the armed struggle against the Japanese aggressors, by their attitude to all Japanese agents and national traitors and, in particular, to these Japano-Trotskyist fascist agents. The government and peoples of the U.S.S.R. are setting us an example of how to fight against foreign secret services and to purge the state, military and Party apparatus of these vipers, thereby strengthening its defensive power and safeguarding the rear in the event of an attack by foreign aggressors.

Side by side with the nine slogans and demands, above-mentioned, concerning home policy, the Communist Party has also put forward a slogan regarding the "conduct of an anti-Japanese foreign policy." The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic, in their August First Manifesto in 1935, advanced a special point on foreign policy which reads:

"The establishment of contact with all people who are hostile towards Japanese imperialism (with the Japanese working people, Koreans, Formosans, etc.) for the conduct of joint struggle against the common enemy; the establishment of an alliance with all nations and states supporting and sympathizing with the national struggle of the Chinese people, and friendly relations with all powers and nations observing benevolent neutrality in the military operations between Japanese imperialism and the Chinese people."

And in one of its latest declarations concerning the events in North China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China proposed that the Nanking government:

". . . immediately begin to pursue an active anti-Japanese foreign policy, to support the international front of peace, and conclude with other countries all kinds of agreements beneficial to the cause of the anti-Japanese struggle."

The operation of the measures enumerated, both in the sphere of home affairs and in foreign policy, will enable the Chinese people not only to organize effective armed resistance on a national scale, but also to achieve victory over the Japanese aggressor.

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

The struggle of the Chinese people is entering a new period, that of the immediate organization of successful armed resistance on a national scale to Japanese aggression. Whereas in the preceding period the main task of the day consisted in putting a stop to the civil war raging in the country, with a view to conducting a joint struggle against Japanese imperialism, now, on the other hand, when the armed struggle has begun against the Japanese aggressor, the task is to organize armed resistance by the entire people until the Japanese invaders are driven out of China to the last man.

Whereas in the preceding period the Communist Party succeeded only in laying down a certain basis for the establishment of a united national anti-Japanese front with the Kuomintang and other organizations, now, on the other hand, it is directly engaged in a struggle to secure that this united national anti-Japanese front rapidly and completely takes the shape of the establishment of collaboration between the political parties and organizations and the creation of a united all-Chinese democratic republic with an all-Chinese government of national defense and an all-Chinese united anti-Japanese army. Whereas formerly the question of organ-

*Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, p. 14. Workers Library Publishers, New York.

izing *successful* armed resistance to Japanese aggression on a national scale still faced the Communist Party of China in perspective, today it is already a direct and actual task.

Hence it follows that whereas formerly the Communist Party of China concentrated its attention and work chiefly on the Red Army and the Soviet regions and relied first and foremost on their forces, now, on the other hand, our Communist Party must concern itself not only with consolidating and increasing the forces of the Red Army but also with preserving its best traditions and fighting qualities as the most advanced, disciplined, solid component part of the all-Chinese army.

The Communist Party of China will also concern itself not only with improving the work in the Soviet regions in order to convert them into a bulwark of anti-Japanese struggle but, relying on the growing revolutionary strength and might of millions of toiling people throughout the whole of China, will fight to transform the other regions of the country into a strong base of the all-Chinese democratic republic.

This means, first, that the Communist Party of China has the task of making great efforts to educate and organize millions of the working class who now again are beginning actively and openly to take part in the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle as the most advanced, most class-conscious, most consistent section of the whole of the Chinese people. The Chinese Communists appreciate the fact that in the preceding period activity among the industrial workers and their trade union organizations in the big centers of the country was extremely weak, while in connection with the rising class-consciousness, wider organization and increased energy and initiative of the working class not only will the mass influence and basis of the Communist Party grow and gather strength, but the national struggle against the Japanese aggressor also will become more powerful.

Second, the Communist Party of China is confronted with the task of working to organize and draw the very wide masses of the peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, into the nation-wide and all-democratic struggle. The Chinese Communists appreciate the fact that in spite of their wealth of experience in working among the peasants, the Communists, apart from the districts where the Red Army has been or is to be found, have in general done extremely little to organize the peasantry. Yet the more extensively and better the peasant masses are organized, the more actively they are drawn into the revolutionary struggle, the stronger and more powerful will be the anti-Japanese national-liberation movement and the more surely and certainly will its outcome be successful.

Third, the Communist Party of China has the task of intensifying and extending its work among the Chinese youth in general and among the student youth in particular. The Chinese Communists appreciate the fact that work among the youth is particularly weak. The Chinese youth are deeply imbued with the spirit of national liberation; they are displaying heroism and self-sacrifice in entering the front ranks of the anti-Japanese struggle and are called upon to play an important role in the national-liberation struggle of the Chinese people.

Fourth, the Communist Party of China has the task of organizing its members and honest revolutionary elements in all units of the national-revolutionary armies, in the raising of the fighting spirit of the army, in strengthening revolutionary military discipline, in setting examples of heroism and self-sacrifice, and in ensuring mutual assistance between the army and the people in the difficult historical struggle against their mortal enemy.

Fifth, the Communist Party of China has the task of increasing its influence and work in Manchuria and Jehol. The Communist Party of China can be proud of the fact that up to now the Communists, regardless of the great difficulties and heavy sacrifices, have been working

and fighting in Manchuria and Jehol.

On the road to the fulfilment of its great historic revolutionary tasks, our Chinese Communist Party is inevitably meeting with innumerable difficulties. These difficulties, of course, are connected with the need for carrying on:

"...the struggle against Japanese imperialism, armed as it is to the teeth—a crafty enemy which is cleverly dispersing the forces of China and making use of every internal struggle in this country for its own robber ends."*

These difficulties are also connected with the fact that a certain section of the representatives of the propertied classes exist in China, who, like the French bourgeois leaders of the epoch of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-71, place the egoistic interests of their own classes above their national duty and easily commit national treason and, in certain circumstances, will help the enemy from without in his struggle against the Chinese working class, against the Chinese people.

"But there are also internal difficulties in the path of the Communist Party of China. It has to overcome the resistance of sectarian elements, who do not understand that in the present conditions the only way to secure the liberation of the Chinese people is that of establishing a united national front against the Japanese violators. It also has to carry on a struggle against the opportunist capitulators who are ready to sacrifice the political and organizational independence of the Party and the Red Army, and to dissolve them in other organizations."**

The first difficulty of an inner-party character is connected with the fact that the Chinese Communist Party in recent years has been accomplishing a sharp political turn, such as has faced no other section of the Comintern. Instead of the former armed struggle against the Kuomintang, the Communist Party is now fighting for collaboration with the Kuomintang and other organizations. Instead of the civil war which has been going on for nearly ten years between the Red Army and the Kuomintang and non-Kuomintang troops, the Communist Party is now fighting to unite the Red Army with all other Chinese troops in a Chinese united national-revolutionary army. Instead of the former armed struggle to overthrow the Nanking government and set up in its stead a Chinese Soviet government, the Communist Party is now fighting for the establishment, together with the Kuomintang and the Nanking government, of a united Chinese government, for the creation of a Chinese united democratic republic with a Chinese government of national defense.

Moreover, the Communist Party openly declares that it has withdrawn its slogan of the sovietization of China, during the given stage of struggle of the Chinese people. Although the Communist Party has till now in the main been comparatively successful in accomplishing this political turn, it can by no means be said that there are not still in its ranks a considerable number of people who, faced with this sharp turn, will prove to be in a web of ideological confusion and practical error. It is precisely now that the Communist Party has more than ever before to conduct a most serious ideological struggle and improve the Marxist-Leninist theoretical education of its cadres.

The Chinese Communists, true sons of their people, are in the front ranks in defense of the national existence and independence of China; but this by no means signifies either that the Chinese Communists have become bourgeois nationalists, or that they have become dissolved in the ranks of the latter. Between the bourgeois nationalists and the Communists there is and always will be an impassable boundary. While acting most resolutely in defense of the national interests of the people, we remain

* See the *Communist International*, October, 1936. Georgi Dimitroff, "The Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist Party of China," p. 1339.

** *Ibid.*, p. 1340.

true revolutionary internationalists and consistent proletarian fighters.

While, in spite of all the differences in principle that exist between Communism and Sun Yat-senism, we declare ourselves supporters of the fundamental revolutionary slogans of Sun Yat-sen, of the best revolutionary traditions of the Chinese people, on no account do the Communists cease for a moment to be true followers of the Marxist-Leninist principles.

Under definite historical conditions we Communists stand for the creation, on the basis of a common platform, of a united national front with the Kuomintang and other organizations for the conduct of a joint struggle against the common enemy, but on no account do we permit for a moment the loss of the political and organizational independence of our own Party or that its own Communist colors be concealed. We should always remember Comrade Dimitroff's advice that:

"The Communist Party of China, while loyally and honestly fulfilling its obligations according to the agreement undertaken by it regarding the struggle against the usurpers, does not intend to take either the path of blind faith in its allies, or the path of capitulation."*

While in the definite historical situation that has arisen of actively supporting the creation of a united Chinese democratic republic and the convening of a parliament for the whole of China, the Chinese Communists are on no account, not for a moment, converted into bourgeois democrats, nor cease to be consistent supporters of the Soviet government and socialism.

The second difficulty of an inner-party character is connected with the need for re-educating the old Party cadres in accordance with the new tasks of educating and promoting new cadres from among the active members and leaders of the mass revolutionary movement, who have grown up during recent years. The majority of the present cadres of the Communist Party of China were trained and steeled in civil war. Many of them are of peasant origin. They have had experience of armed struggle against the Kuomintang and its armies, but many of them have had no experience whatsoever of the struggle for the masses in circumstances where there is no Soviet government or Red Army, nor have they even any idea of the working class movement in the big towns. Therefore, the education of the old Party cadres to suit the new conditions and methods of work is by no means an easy job.

No less important is the task of educating and promoting new cadres, first and foremost from among the workers. In recent years many active members and leaders of the mass anti-Japanese movement and the strike struggle have grown up and are still developing. It is from among them that the Communist Party can and must draw fresh forces and new reserves, its new fighting cadres who are directly connected with very wide masses of the people and possess new experience of struggle and work. The Party has helped and will continue to help them, for Communists value every honest and capable son of our people.

Many of the present active members and leaders of the anti-Japanese movement are, in the course of the national-revolutionary struggle and as they become acquainted with the theory and practice of communism, coming ever closer to our Party, and in the not far distant future will become sons and daughters of the great Communist Party. Some of them have already joined the Communist Party of China. At the same time, however, it should also be borne in mind that not all those active in the anti-Japanese struggle can become Communists. The mere desire and determination to take part in the anti-Japanese struggle are still far from enough to enable one to become a member of the Communist Party. Communists are not only fighters in the national-revolutionary movement but also consistent fighters

* *Ibid.*

for the emancipation of the working class and the whole of working mankind, *i.e.*, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet power and communism.

The third difficulty of an inner-party character lies in the fact that in the present conditions when internecine warfare has ceased and a nationwide armed defensive war has begun, the enemies of the Chinese revolution and, first and foremost, the Japanese secret service, will inevitably increase their efforts to install in the ranks of the Communist Party their spies, provocateurs, diversionists, terrorists and wreckers. These will be recruited primarily from among covert Trotskyists like the Chen Dusuists, the Lo Chanlunists, etc., in order from within to undermine the power and strength of the most revolutionary, most militant party in our country, the party that strikes most fear in them, namely, the Communist Party of China. This circumstance is the more dangerous since in the ranks of our Party revolutionary vigilance and a systematic struggle against the provocation and espionage of the enemy are extremely weak and not sufficiently realized. The verification of cadres by all, including the leading party organizations, is very weakly operated.

Yes! China is passing through the most serious, most critical moment of its history. There are huge difficulties in the way of the great struggle to organize the nationwide armed resistance of the entire people to the Japanese aggressor, the defense of the national existence of China, and the cause of universal peace.

The whole of the Chinese people, every political party and grouping, every politician, military or public man of China today is faced with a world historical test. The Chinese Communists, true followers of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the great teachers of the working class and the whole of working mankind, and worthy sons and daughters of their people, do not fear these difficulties, and will find ways to overcome them. Backed by the solidarity and support of the whole of the international proletariat and progressive mankind, the Chinese Communists, full of confidence and resolution, have joined the whole of the Chinese people, in the great historic battle against Japanese imperialism, for a new, independent, free and happy great Chinese republic!

Declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

IN CONNECTION with the new agresion of Japanese imperialism in China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has at various times in its declarations called on the Chinese people to offer armed resistance to the Japanese usurpers.

We print here one of these proclamations, issued on July 23, 1937, in connection with the agreement then signed between the Japanese invaders and Sung Che-yuan.

* * *

Citizens of all China!

It is now public knowledge that Sung Che-yuan, the government representative in Hopei and Chahar, has accepted the following terms of the Japanese:

1. The Hopei-Chahar authorities proffer an apology to the Japanese army.

2. The 29th Army withdraws from the Peiping-Tientsin region, Liukouchiao and the region east of the River Yungting.

3. The mass anti-Japanese movement to be suppressed, and a joint campaign begun with the Japanese against the Reds.

These conditions are already being carried out. It is not excluded that a secret agreement also exists between the Japanese and Sung Che-yuan.

Citizens of China! These servile conditions, so humiliating to our country, fundamentally contradict the demands of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China who wish to defend Northern China and to prevent even a single inch of our territory being surrendered to Japanese imperialism. These conditions are also in fundamental contradiction to the following principles which follow from the exceedingly moderate stand taken by Chiang Kai-shek in his speech on July 17 about the events in Liuchouchiao:

A. The settlement of the question under no circumstances to be such as will impair the territorial unity and sovereign rights of China.

B. No changes contrary to the law to be made in the administrative system of Hopei and Chahar.

C. No one can remove the officials appointed by the Central government, as for instance the Presidents of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, Sung Che-yuan, etc.

D. The 29th Army is not to be restricted or interfered with in any way in the districts where it operates.

Our government and people must absolutely refuse to agree to the capitulatory Japanese conditions, so humiliating to China. We strongly protest againg Sung Che-yuan's action in signing this agreement which will lead the country to ruin and the nation to extinction. We wish to fight to the end to defend the Peiping-Tientsin region, to defend every inch of the ground in Hopei and Chahar.

Citizens of China! The situation is critical. Japan is attacking China with the aid of large naval, land and air forces. Peiping and Tientsin, and also the whole of Hopei and Chahar are in greater danger! We must proclaim to the whole world that we will not make any concessions to or any agreements with the Japanese aggressor. Chiang Kai-shek was correct in saying that if Peip-

ing shares the fate of Mukden, then Hopei and Chahar will share the fate of the four Northeastern provinces. And if it is true that Peiping may become another Mukden, then what guarantee is there that Nanking will not suffer the lot of Peiping? That is the root of the question. If today we give up Peiping and Tientsin, Liukouchiao and the territory east of the River Yungting, it will be impossible to defend Hopei and Chahar, and these provinces will meet with the same fate as Manchuria.

And if we do not defend Hopei and Chahar, if we lose Northern China the ruin of the country and the destruction of the nation will follow.

We must protest emphatically against the cap-in-hand policy and concessions to the Japanese usurpers, made by General Sung Che-yuan, the Chairman of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council.

Citizens of China! We must not under any circumstances remain passive and compliant in face of this shameful capitulation which has already become a fact, and in face of this attempt at a so-called local settlement of the question between Japan and China. We call upon the Nanking government to take concrete measures to satisfy the demands and aspiration of the Chinese people, and to carry out the line of the anti-Japanese struggle, proclaimed by Chiang Kai-shek on July 17 of this year.

At the present time, ardent speeches and general statements and protests are not enough. The Japanese usurpers are not afraid of these. It is also useless at the present time to place any hopes on intervention by the states which once signed the Nine Power Pact. The Japanese imperialist barbarians are indifferent to this as well. What we need is the most effective measures to be taken immediately to ensure that what the whole Chinese people want and demand will be carried out, that the line for an anti-Japanese struggle, as proclaimed by Chiang Kai-shek, will be carried into effect.

For this, the following measures are essential:

A. The Hopei-Chahar authorities, in the person of Sung Che-yuan, must be given immediate orders to refuse to fulfil the three conditions put forward by the Japanese, and to lead the whole of the 29th Army in armed resistance to the enemy. Should Sung Che-yuan refuse to submit to the orders of the Central government, he must be dismissed at once, and a worthy commander sent to lead the heroic 29th Army and other military units in Northern China.

B. Strong forces to be sent immediately to the aid of the 29th Army, and all the naval, land, and air forces of China to be mobilized in order to begin a war of defense. A congress of national salvation must be summoned immediately, the military leadership of the defense operations must be centralized, and a single leadership created on all fronts in order to reply to the attack of the Japanese aggressors by an active defensive struggle. A wide guerilla struggle must be developed in the territory seized by the Japanese, and help furnished to the anti-Japanese people's armies and irregulars, and also to the people of Manchuria and Jehol.

C. A general mobilization of the Chinese people must be carried out at once, the law banning the parties rescinded, the patriotic movement permitted, the political prisoners released, and democratic liberties established; the urgent economic demands of the people must be satisfied, mass work developed on a wide scale, and various organizations of the national anti-Japanese front formed among the civil and military population.

D. A defensive war must be launched against Japan on all fronts; diplomatic relations and parleys with Japan to be ended, an energetic fight to be waged against Japanese contraband and a boycott of Japanese goods carried out; all banks, mines, factories and other property in China belonging to Japan to be confiscated; all political and economic privileges enjoyed by the Japanese imperialists in China to be withdrawn; the Japanese Consulate, offices and Embassy

and also special Japanese missions to be closed; Japanese spies and Chinese traitors to the nation to be arrested, all military and civil organizations in China belonging to the Japanese and the Chinese traitors to the nation to be disbanded.

E. All political barriers between the Central government and the local authorities must be got rid of at once by democratizing the regime and drawing in delegates from all parties and groups, and also all public organizations to participate in the work of the National Assembly and government. The National Assembly will then really become an organ representing the will of the people, and the government really become a government of national defense, leading the fight against Japan for the salvation of the country. There must be a clean-up in the government bodies and all pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation driven out. All this must be done so that the government and the people's organizations may, together and with one mind, carry on the struggle against Japan.

F. The closest cooperation must be established between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, so that, on the basis of this collaboration between the two parties, all parties and groups eager to offer resistance to Japan and defend the fatherland may be rallied together, and a strong anti-Japanese national front formed with the purpose of rallying all forces to fight the calamity threatening the nation.

G. A new policy must be initiated in all spheres, administrative, economic and agrarian; in the sphere of labor, culture, public education, etc., in order to strengthen the defense of the country and ameliorate the conditions of the people.

H. An active anti-Japanese foreign policy must be initiated, the international peace front supported, and agreements beneficial to the cause of the anti-Japanese struggle concluded with the U.S.A., England, France, the U.S.S.R. and other countries.

Citizens of China! If our government and our people can resolutely carry out these measures we will be strong enough to overcome the Japanese aggressors, drive them out of China, and recover our lost territory. Only the great might of the Chinese people will succeed in smashing the offensive of Japanese imperialism and in creating a new, free, independent and happy China.

Sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, all citizens who are unwilling to be colonial slaves! A turning point in the life of our country has come; our national independence is at stake. Arise and unite as closely as possible. *At the cost of our lives let us achieve complete victory for the nation.* Down with all concessions and agreements with the Japanese usurpers! We must fight resolutely and to the end! Only by a fight to the death shall we succeed in smashing the offensive of Japanese imperialism and defend the Peiping-Tientsin region.

Down with Japanese imperialism! Long live the freedom of the Chinese people!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA.

July 23, 1937

In the Far East and the Far West

(Introduction to the Letters Published Below from Comrades Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh to the Spanish People.)

IN THE Far East of the Asiatic Continent, as well as in the Far West of the European Continent, war has begun without being declared, a war of a fascist horde of brigands against the freedom of peoples and world peace. "The guns have the floor!" was the insolent announcement of the chief of the Italian Blackshirts. "For Germany, the Basque coal mines are more important than any talk about peace," declared the leader of the German Brownshirts at the same time with unconcealed cynicism. "There is no hope of any diplomatic solution of the Sino-Japanese problem," smirks the Japanese military-fascist clique provokingly. German pilots raze Spanish towns to the ground, Italian divisions carry death to the Spanish provinces. Japanese regiments set fire to Chinese towns and villages, annihilating the sons and daughters of the Chinese people.

Fascism is setting the world alight in the Far West and the Far East. But the governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries and their statesmen make diplomatic invocations, imaging thus to divert the flames from themselves. They refuse to shed the illusion that the conflagration has broken out "by accident." They refuse to admit that it was purposely set alight by criminal incendiaries, and that in other countries inflammable material is lying ready to be used at the first opportunity by the same forces as launched the war in Spain and China. They refuse to admit that the war in Spain and the war in China are most closely connected with each other, that really they constitute one war, which is flaring in the Far East and in the Far West, the war of the fascist conspirators against the freedom of all peoples, against the justifiable aspirations of all working people to a worthy human existence.

The heroic fighters in Spain have never seen either Peiping or Shanghai. They know little of the conditions in which the Chinese peasant, riksha or coolie, the Chinese proletarians, are fighting for their existence. They are hardly able correctly to pronounce the names of Chinese people and of the Chinese towns which they read every day in the newspapers. But their instincts tell them with unquestionable clarity that they are conducting one and the same struggle, that they have risen up against one and the same enemy. Under the walls of Madrid, think the heroic fighters in Spain, we are also fighting for the liberty of Shanghai, and the struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressors is at the same time a struggle against the German and Italian fascists who have invaded Spain. In the militant songs of the Chinese people there can be proudly heard the word "Madrid," and the names of Spanish fighters for liberty; while the Spanish army feels itself closely linked up with the anti-Japanese People's Red Army that is fighting under the leadership of the Chinese Communists. Every victory of the fighters for liberty on the Tagus and Manzanares strengthens the position of the fighters for freedom on the Yellow River and Yangtze River. On the threshold of Asia

and Europe both these people are defending the peace of all continents.

Over lands and seas the Chinese people send greetings to the Spanish people. The President of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviets, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and the Commander-in-Chief of the anti-Japanese People's Red Army, Comrade Chu Teh, have sent fraternal letters to the Spanish people. Mao Tse-tung writes:

"The cause for which you are fighting is also our cause. . . . Many comrades in the ranks of the Chinese Red Army would also like to go to Spain there to participate in your struggle. . . . Were we not now occupied with the Japanese invaders, we should certainly have joined you and taken our places in the ranks of your foremost fighters."

Chu Teh writes:

"Every Chinese worker and peasant, every Chinese Red Army man, understands full well that the war in Spain is a war of international importance. Your victory will deliver a mortal blow to the fascist interventionists—the fomenters of world war."

These letters were written before the Japanese seized Peiping and Tientsin and began open war in China.

In their fiery indignation against Japanese imperialism, the Chinese people have joined the front of liberty which stretches from Madrid to Peiping. The battlecry of the heroic Chinese Communist Party, which is calling for national unity against the mortal enemy, is finding a tremendous echo. Millions of Chinese workers and peasants, of Chinese intellectuals, a definite sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie, are coming together to save China. The Spanish workers, peasants and intellectuals are closing their ranks in order to save Spain. In the struggle against German and Italian fascism there is being hammered out the Spanish People's Army; in the struggle against Japanese imperialism there will be hammered out the Chinese People's Army.

Against the "Berlin-Rome-Tokio" axis, against the military bloc of the fascist brigands, there is rising up the front of those fighting for the liberty of the peoples.

"The cause for which you are fighting is also our cause!" These words of Mao Tse-tung to the Spanish people are uttered as though from the bottom of the hearts of the working people of all countries. The Spanish and Chinese people are fighting for one cause, for the cause of all peoples, for the cause of the whole of progressive mankind. The sooner and the more profoundly this is understood by all working people, the sooner, the more thoroughly they organize joint international aid to the Spanish and Chinese peoples, the sooner will the possibility arise of overthrowing fascism and saving mankind from a new imperialist war.

The Spanish people in the Far West, and the Chinese people in the Far East are equally close to the hearts of all progressive and liberty loving people, for the struggle of both these peoples is a tremendous factor in achieving victory over fascism.

LETTER OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE C.E.C. OF CHINESE SOVIETS, COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG, TO THE SPANISH PEOPLE

SPANISH people and comrades in arms!

We, the Communist Party of China, the anti-Japanese People's Red Army and Soviets, regard the war being waged by the Spanish republican government as the most sacred war in the whole world.

This war is being waged not only for the national existence of Spain, but also in the interests of the oppressed peoples of the whole world, for the Spanish government is fighting against the German and Italian fascists who, together with the Spanish rebels, are destroying world culture and foundations of humanity.

The Spanish government and the Spanish people are fighting against German and Italian fascists who are in alli-

ance with the Japanese fascists who have invaded China.

The Japanese fascists are striving their utmost to bring about aggression in China. Having seized the four provinces of Northeast China, they have invaded North and Central China. Without the aid of the German and Italian fascists, Japanese fascism would never have dared to hurl itself with such fury against China.

The Communist Party of China sends its warmest sympathy to the political parties united in the Spanish People's Front, and now calls upon the various political parties in China to adhere to a united national front of struggle against Japanese fascism. Our work is advancing rapidly and in the event of success, China will deliver a blow against Japanese fascism which will at the same time be a blow against fascism in Spain.

We are convinced that the struggle of the Chinese people is inseparable from your struggle in Spain. The Communist Party of China in its struggle against Japanese fascism desires to inspire and aid the Spanish people. The Communist Party of China, the anti-Japanese People's Red Army, the Soviets and the Chinese people are inspired by your defense of Madrid, by your struggle on the fronts. Our press in the Soviet regions daily publishes information and articles about your heroic struggle. We are firmly convinced that the unification of the various parties in your People's Front is the guarantee of your final victory. We have read and fully approve the ten points of the united front platform put forward by the Spanish Communist Party.

Your struggle calls to mind our struggle in the Far East. For, besides the common features already mentioned, traitors and Trotskyists have managed to penetrate into your ranks just as into ours. Only the most resolute struggle against these provocateurs will enable us to consolidate our fighting front. By fighting against the enemy in our own ranks in China, we are thereby helping you in Spain.

Over a hundred newspapers and magazines are published in China which give regular information, print articles and photographs expressing sympathy with your heroic struggle for democracy and liberty. We know that your victory will be of direct support to our struggle against Japanese fascism.

The cause for which you are fighting is also our cause. It was with enthusiasm that we heard of the creation of international brigades, and we were overjoyed to learn that both Chinese and Japanese are to be found in them.

Many comrades who are in the ranks of the Chinese Red Army would also like to go to Spain there to participate in your struggle. Not a single day passes without us discussing questions of your struggle and the general situation in Spain. Were we not occupied now with the Japanese invaders, we would certainly have joined you and taken our place in the ranks of your foremost fighters.

Many of you know that the Chinese Red Army has traversed the difficult road of a ten years' struggle. We fought without any means, we suffered from hunger and cold, were without arms and ammunition; yet in the end we achieved the victory we have today.

We know that your army is also experiencing tremendous difficulties. But we are convinced of your victory.

Our ten years of struggle have shown us that if the revolutionary people and their army are not afraid of privation and carry on an untiring and heroic struggle against their enemies, they will be victorious without fail. We, the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Red Army, the Chinese Soviets and Chinese people, express our very profound comradely solidarity with you, heroic men and women fighting for liberty and democracy in Spain.

In this struggle the oppressed peoples of the whole world express their solidarity and boundless friendship with you.

As hitherto, we shall daily and hourly follow the progress of your struggles with keen interest. We are glad of every

one of your victories. We are convinced yours will be the final victory.

MAO TSE-TUNG

Yenan (Shensi province).
May 15, 1937.

LETTER OF COMRADE CHU TEH TO THE SPANISH PEOPLE.

DEAR COMRADES:

On behalf of the anti-Japanese People's Chinese Red Army fighting against the enemies of the people for the last ten years, I send to the heroic Spanish people and their army the most hearty and ardent revolutionary greetings!

Comrades, although we are in the Far East, at a distance from you, we are stirred every day when we read the news of the heroic struggle of Spanish comrades against the Italo-German fascists and rebels.

Your heroic struggle has already grown from an internal struggle against traitor generals into a war against the fascist interventionists. You are the fighting vanguard of the working people of the whole world in the struggle against fascism. You are fighting not only for the liberation of the Spanish people, but also for peace throughout the world. Your victory is at the same time our victory, because we have a common enemy in barbarian fascism.

Comrades, we experienced tremendous joy when we read the news of your victory on the Guadalajara front where three Italian divisions were routed. Your brilliant victories firmly strengthen our determination as well in the fight for national emancipation, and inspire us to conduct a still more determined struggle against the chief enemy of the Chinese people—Japanese imperialism. It is with enthusiasm that we welcome your great victory.

At first, comrades, you were in a very difficult position, but under the guidance of the government of the People's Front, and especially with the aid of the Communist Party, you have overcome tremendous difficulties. You have been able to win tens and hundreds of thousands of people to take part in the anti-fascist war. You have been able to bring about sincere collaboration between the various parties and political groups; you have created an heroic, fighting People's Army where iron discipline exists under a united leadership.

Comrades, all this is a great achievement in your struggle against fascism and is an essential condition for your final victory over fascism. At the same time all your achievements are a most valuable source of experience and a splendid example for the masses of the people of all countries in the struggle against fascism.

Our Red Army, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, has already been fighting for ten years against international imperialism and counter-revolutionary forces inside the country.

With a view to carrying on the struggle against the Japanese aggressors, we made a long trek, covering about 25,000 li (about 13,000 kilometers), crossing from South to North China. We proclaimed and are conducting a new policy of a united national front such as unites all parties, all political groups, all who have no desire to become slaves in a subjugated state, to fight against Japanese imperialism.

In the name of this new policy, the civil war which had been going on for over twenty years has ceased, and a struggle is going on to secure peace at home and unification of the country.

The Communist Party of China and the Red Army, which stand at the head of the masses of the people in the struggle for democratic liberties, are now striving to develop the struggle against Japanese imperialism rapidly and resolutely.

We are firmly convinced that, thanks to the new policy of the Communist Party of China, we shall overcome all difficulties whatsoever, that we shall drive the Japanese imperialists out of China and win final national emancipation for the Chinese people.

Among the Red Armymen, commanders and wide masses of the people we are conducting agitation regarding the heroic struggle and victories of our Spanish brothers, especially regarding the glorious victories of your international brigades, which are a strong inspiration to us.

Every Chinese worker and peasant, every Chinese Red Armyman, is possessed of a profound understanding that the war in Spain is a war of international importance. Your victory will deal a mortal blow at the fascist interventionists, the fomenters of world war.

Comrades, you are far away from us, but we are on the same sector of the struggle as you, we have one common enemy; you in the West are fighting against German and Italian fascism, while we in the East are conducting a struggle against Japanese fascist militarism.

Both your victory and ours will mean death to international fascism.

Comrades, in close unison, forward to great victory!

Long live the victory of the Spanish people!

Down with German-Italian fascism!

Down with Japanese imperialism! Long live the national liberation of China!

CHU TEU,
Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Anti-Japanese People's Red Army.

May 18, 1937.

In Memory of the Fallen Fighters of the International Brigade in Spain

GEORGE BROWN

ON JULY 8 George Brown, for two years a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain and one of the leaders of the Manchester Party organization, was killed in battle against the fascist interventionists, while fighting in the ranks of the International Brigade. Brown was only thirty years old. He was the son of a worker and from his earliest years worked actively in the trade union and labor movement, often taking part in strikes. After the 1926 General Strike, which was betrayed by the Labor leaders, he joined the Communist Party and soon became one of the Communist leaders in his native town of Manchester.

Comrade Brown was a good worker and a splendid comrade, whose every word and action strengthened the prestige of the Communist Party.

Comrade Brown was well known not only by Communists, but by thousands of other workers of Manchester and Salford. Many rank-and-file trade union organizations constantly received valuable counsel, advice and help from Comrade Brown; many workers have not to this day forgotten how Brown never spared his efforts in rallying aid for those on strike. The strong, courageous figure of Comrade Brown, his crystal honesty and unswerving firmness earned the respect of even the most sworn enemies of Communism and the Communist Party of Great Britain.

For many years Brown was a delegate to the Trades Council from his trade union branch, and in spite of differences and conflicts with individual members of the council and even at times with the official policy of the council, he had no personal enemies.

The name of Brown is linked up with the successes in the growth and strengthening of the Party organizations of Manchester and Salford. Many of the present leaders of the Party organizations obtained their first knowledge and their first practical training in the working class movement and Party work from Comrade Brown. The Party organization in Manchester and Salford, which only a few years ago was extremely weak and isolated from the masses, became a strong and healthy organization under Comrade Brown's leadership.

It was under the guidance of and with the help of Comrade Brown that the Communist municipal program for Manchester was drawn up and issued in a separate pamphlet called *This, Our City.*

George Brown lived for the working class movement, for the Party. All his private life was closely linked up with the life of the Party. He was ready to give his all to the Party and the working class, and now he has given his life in Spain on the fighting front against barbarian fascism.

The General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Upholsterers wrote of him as follows in the *Daily Worker:*

"From personal experience of Comrade Brown I can only say that his life and work in Manchester were a living refutation of the statement that the activities of the Communists split the trade union

movement. There are hundreds of workers in Manchester who are members of the trade union because of Comrade Brown's activities and example."

Even the bourgeois press of Manchester remarked on the outstanding heroism of this Communist leader. And his working class mother wrote:

"In my grief the only thing which is consoling to me is that George died as he lived—fighting for the cause which inspired him to go to Spain."

The life and struggle of George Brown will serve as an example not only for all Communists, but also for all those who are ready to fight against fascism, for the liberty and happiness of mankind.

NINO NANETTI

NINO NANETTI (Bassi), an Italian worker and Communist, was in the flower of his strength, just over thirty, when he met a hero's death while fighting for liberty on the front of anti-fascist struggle in Spain. When at the end of July, 1936, Nanetti set out from Barcelona to the Aragon front, he was a rank-and-file fighter in the militia; when he died on July 19, 1937, from severe wounds received, he was commander of the Second Division of the Basque People's Army. Only now in our epoch do the people promote from their ranks such heroes who, inspired with the great ideal of liberating mankind from fascist barbarism, pass from the bench and the plow to the command of thousands of armed men in one of the most complicated and difficult wars.

Nino Nanetti was a worthy son of the Italian people. While still an apprenticed metal worker he joined the Socialist Youth League in 1923 in his native town of Bologna, and took part in the fight against fascism. At that time this struggle took on the nature of real civil war. In conflicts with fascists, Nanetti was twice severely wounded. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Young Communists, Nanetti enthusiastically accepted the Communist idea of a united front against fascism, and became a supporter of militant united action between the Young Communist and Young Socialist Leagues of Bologna, in which young Catholics, Republicans, Anarchists and non-party people later took part.

In the year 1926 he was elected by the working youth of his town as a member of the delegation of young Italian anti-fascists who visited the Soviet Union. His journey to the land of socialism created an indelible impression upon him and taught him a great deal. On returning to Italy, after the publication of the fascist emergeicy decrees of 1926, he joined the Young Communist League and fought with all his might for the fusion of the Young Socialist organizations and the Y.C.L.

Hunted by the police of Bologna, Nanetti left the town and in 1928 secured a job in a factory in Genoa, where he participated in the organization of resistance to the wave of fascist terror. But he was soon discovered by the police and exiled for three years to the Lipari Isles. While in exile, Nanetti studied assiduously and improved his knowledge in the sphere of ideology and culture. In 1930, on release from exile, Nanetti returned again to his native town where, without losing any time, and despite police surveillance, he carried on leading Party work, full of initiative and revolutionary ardor. A few months passed and the fascists made a second attempt to arrest Nanetti. But they were unsuccessful, for he slipped through the fingers of the police and fled abroad, only to return to Italy a short time later and continue the struggle against fascism.

Nanetti was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Italian Young Communist League. He helped the organization through the country of the rice-gatherers' strike and other mass movements; he organized the publication and distribution of thousands of copies of newspapers and illegal leaflets; and he furthered the development of the organizations of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party.

In the last years of his life Nanetti

worked in Toulouse, devoting all his leisure hours to organizational and mass work among the Italian workers and peasants who had emigrated there.

Nino Nanetti was the first Italian anti-fascist volunteer to fight in defense of Republican Spain. On the evening of July 20, 1936, Nino was in Barcelona.

What did Nanetti do on his arrival in Spain? He told the story to the correspondent of *La Voce d' Italia:*

"There was not as yet," said Nanetti, "a single Italian volunteer in Barcelona. What could I do? I had come to fight, I wanted to go to the front. And so a Catalonian, Comrade Traube, decided to take me to the front as a chauffeur. I immediately set off for the firing line in Tardiente. I was a rank-and-file fighter, a militiaman. Then in Huesca I took part in the first attack, which lasted two days, and I organized a phantom-battery between Tardiente and Huesca."

"What?" asked the correspondent.

"A phantom-battery. The enemy called it that, in the belief that they really had to do with a battery. But it was only an ordinary gun, fixed on a lorry, and there were only two of us who took it in turns to drive the lorry and work the gun. There was no army at that time, everything was in chaos: nobody knew what to do, how to fight. And so I and a comrade decided to set out, together with our gun, and bombard Tardiente. And we did! True, it might have cost us dearly: all the fascist batteries poured out fire on us, while we on our lorry drove about full speed with our little 75-millimeter gun, firing all the time. It was precisely because we kept up the shooting while the truck moved about that the enemy got the impression that they were up against a whole battery. We repeated the attempt several times more, and so created the legend of the phantom-battery.

"After the attack of Huesca, the United Socialist Youth of Catalonia instructed me to organize a youth battalion. I organized and trained it. There were 500 in the battalion. They are still with me, those of them who escaped death. On September 18 I arrived in Madrid with the youth battalion, I myself being appointed its Commissar. With my courageous lads—all Spaniards—we took part in the fighting on the outskirts of Madrid, in offensive and defensive operations. At the end of November, I was appointed commander of a brigade after the battle near Valdemorillo; and when the enemy broke through the front near Guadalajara, I was sent there to resist the offensive, and was given the command of a division.

"The division was not, however, actually in existence. It had to be organized. We took part from beginning to end in the victorious Guadalajara counter-offensive; my division won back five villages. . . . And you know the conditions under which we fought. One battle lasted for two days and two nights, without a break, in snow and rain. . . . But the Italian fascists were defeated!

"We even organized an officers' training school in the unit. Every fortnight 100 to 120 commissioned and non-commisioned officers of the division perfect their knowledge in the school. I now have under my command three brigades with twelve battalions, a cavalry regiment, two armored trains and other auxiliary services— in all over 10,000 men."

The correspondent of *La Voce d' Italia* relates with emotion how Nino Nanetti, despite the constant fighting and the tremendous work he did as divisional commander, studied the military art with great energy and assiduity, in order to lead his men to victory with the minimum of losses. The men he led, whom he tempered in so many battles, loved him as a brother and commander and obeyed and followed him through fire and water.

And when Bilbao was in danger, being hard pressed by the interventionist armies, when it was urgently necessary to come to the aid of the Basque people, the Spanish government sent Nino Nanetti to Bilbao. At the head of the Second Division of the Basque People's Army, Nanetti heroically defended the independence of the Basque people. In the fighting near Bilbao he was severely wounded and soon died. So perished the young revolutionary, friend of the Spanish people, anti-fascist fighter—the hero Nanetti.

About a Certain "Scare Story"

BY P. VIDEN

ON THE 16th of June, Albarda, the the leader of Dutch Social-Democracy, made the solemn declaration to a news agency that the "scare story" received the previous night was, God be praised, not true. What "scare story" was it which, in the words of the *Pravo Lidu*, the national paper of Czechoslovakian Social-Democracy, alarmed and even angered the leaders of the Dutch Social-Democrats? The destruction of Almeria? The bombardment of Bilbao? British credits for Franco? The Trotsky-ist-fascist putsch in Catalonia? The judicial murder of heroic Communists in Hitler Germany? There are so many events which should alarm, and even anger Socialists, that it is not easy to discover what event it was that was a source of such alarm to the quiet and thick-skinned Albarda, and even angered him to such an extent that he lost his sleep, and late at night roused the entire Second International and endeavored to avert an international "scare" early in the morning.

The "scare story" which made the Social-Democrat go pale was the report that the Socialist and Communist Internationals had come to an agreement in Annemasse on the basic demands for the support of the Spanish fighters for liberty, for the maintenance of peace.

It is clear that the unification of the working class would reduce Hitler, Mussolini, the Spanish rebels and all fascists to a state of panic. But the workers have discovered to their great astonishment, disquiet and indignation that there are also Social-Democrats who fall into a panic at such a report. The workers want to overcome the fatal split in their ranks. The heroic fight of the united force of the Spanish working class, the influence of the French united working class over the masses of the people, and on the other hand the increasingly brazen attacks of the fascists and the growing danger of war—all these increase the urge among the workers, both Socialists and Communists, toward international working class unity.

The Annemasse conference was greeted by the workers as a step towards unity. But the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders of Holland, Czechoslovakia and other countries were "alarmed and even angered" at the fact that a step toward unity had been taken; for them the news of the closer unification of the international working class movement was a "scare story."

Stivin, the chief editor of the *Pravo Lidu*, under the impression of this "scare story," wrote a leading article in which it is said:

"Note how the Dutch comrades were alarmed, even angered, by this Moscow report, and how quickly they attempted to refute it, in order to make it impossible for the bourgeois press to make capital out of it and use it against Social-Democracy. . . . It [the scare story—P.V.] was to lead to a split in the Labor and Socialist International which is constantly forced to concern itself with similar Moscow intrigues."

What concern for the good-will of the bourgeois press! It never even occurs to them to ask: "How will the workers take

this news?" Their first question, on the contrary, is: "For heaven's sake, what will the bourgeois press say? What will the *bourgeoisie* say?" The urge of the workers for unity, the demand for united support of the Spanish fighters for liberty, the attempt to gather together all proletarian forces in the fight against fascism—all this is only "Moscow intrigues" as far as concerns Stivin and Albarda. The world historical struggle of the workers is turned, in the minds of these people, into a "Moscow intrigue" directed against their cohabitation with the bourgeoisie.

They try to persuade public opinion that they are opposed to the "scare story" in order to avert a split in the Socialist International. In actual fact they themselves have threatened the split, they themselves declared they would answer unity of action between the two Internationals with withdrawal from the Socialist International. With the same logical consistency a blackmailer could declare that he had saved his victim from a great disaster. Like true extortioners they threaten the Labor and Socialist International with a split and when the Socialist International beats a retreat before this threat they triumphantly declare that they have once again warded off the danger of a split.

The last telegram to the chairman of the Labor and Socialist International sent by Comrade Dimitroff—who, in Leipzig, hurled his accusations at the executioners of Germany not only in the name of the Communist International but in the name of the whole working class, who by his example, by his policy is carrying on a tireless fight for the unity of the entire working class—is commented on by Stivin with the following words:

"Once again it is only a question of a new intrigue. Mr. Dimitroff knows that his proposals are fruitless. . . ."

It does not please Stivin that Comrade Dimitroff desires the unity of the working class, the mobilization of all progressive forces for the defense of Republican Spain to bring about the final defeat of fascism. Stivin—the comrade of Citrine, who was knighted by the English King, and of Lansbury, who recently met with a friendly reception from Hitler and Mussolini—shows his true instinct when he does not consider himself a comrade of Dimitroff's. The Social-Democratic workers, on the other hand, greet Dimitroff's fight for the united front from the bottom of their hearts. They formed their opinion of Comrade Dimitroff when he stood forth in Leipzig as the embodiment of the victorious might of the proletariat. We do not doubt that they will also form their opinion about "Comrade" Stivin. In the same way we do not doubt that they will duly appraise the following words of the Social-Democratic editor:

" 'No Pasaran!' is our reply to Messrs. Gottwald and Sverna, who are also industrious telegraphists for Mr. Dimitroff, if he is still alive. . . . At least in the two discussions between representatives of the two Internationals, the character of which, as is well known, was purely informative we never once caught sight of Mr. Dimitroff."

Up to now the fascists have veiled their intervention in Spain with demagogic talk about "the cynical agitational ends of Moscow"; now Stivin associates himself with them. It is apparently Stivin's opinion that the Spanish government made a regrettable mistake in stigmatizing the cowardice of the democratic governments and thanking the Soviet Union for its great-hearted solidarity. Apparently Comrade Prieto, the Socialist War Minister of Spain, mistook the address when he expressed himself bitterly about the parties of the Second International, which, in his words, stretched one hand to the Spanish people in order to strangle it with the other. In Stivin's country, workers are arrested who want to go to Spain to support the People's Front—but what does that matter! Stivin has taken over the war-cry of the Spanish United Front and People's Front—"No Pasaran!"

Heroic Madrid flung this war-cry in the

teeth of the fascist hangmen and warmongers, it has been with this cry on their lips that Socialists and Communists, Democrats and Republicans have died and are dying, welded together by blood and iron in an invincible united front. Stivin does not declare that they, the fascists, whether German or Czech, "shall not pass"; on his lips this slogan has quite another meaning. In Spain, fighting against German and Italian fascism, there is a "Dimitroff" battalion, a "Gottwald" battery, but to the men whose names are inscribed upon the banners of heroes, Stivin cries: "No Pasaran! You, Gottwald and Dimitroff, shall not pass with your united front!" In his stupid hatred of the united front, Stivin goes so far as not to shrink from using the battlecry which all workers link up with brave, bleeding, united Madrid, against the men who are straining every nerve to bring about united support for Madrid and the whole of Republican Spain.

The Socialist Party of Spain, the Communist Party of Spain, the General Workers' Union of Spain have sent a passionate appeal to the Labor and Socialist International, the Communist International, and the International Federation of Trade Unions, once and for all to undertake united action in aid of Spain—and Stivin scornfully answers, "No Pasaran."

Stivin has openly said that the reactionary leaders of the Second International are determined at all costs to prevent the unification of the working class. Every bit of news about the unity so passionately desired by the workers is a "scare story" for these people to whom the unanimous, heroic fight of the workers against fascism is a "Moscow intrigue." Comrade Dimitroff, whom all workers greet with love and enthusiasm, is *Mr.* Dimitroff to them. "No Pasaran," the war-cry of the Spanish workers, is turned in their mouths into a war-cry against united support for the heroic Spanish people. What have they left in common with the working class movement, what in common with the cares, desires and aims of the working class?

Beasts of Prey Preach Humanity

BY F. ERNST

THE wolves and the foxes are quarreling about humanity. They are accusing one another of bloodthirstiness, cruelty and meanness. They are charging each other with being perfidious beasts of prey. It is true they have concluded an alliance, but sometimes one of the partners shows the other his teeth to which shreds of recent booty still cling.

This is the kind of dispute that has broken out between the German and Austrian fascists. The official German News Agency (Nachrichtenburo) has acquainted itself with a leaflet published by the Austrian Nazis and has informed the public about it in the following form:

"It appears from this leaflet that many National-Socialists are still languishing in the Garsten prison, which is not far from the town Styr, in an ill-famed, medieval torture chambér. These are people whose health has been ruined by the battering to which they have been subjected since 1934, being counted as 'unworthy' of the amnesty in 1936, and have been treated like mangy dogs by the monarchist, all-powerful governor of the prison. All the imprisoned National-Socialists started a hunger strike on the 2nd of July on account of the consistently cruel treatment to which they were subjected, as they would rather die together than allow themselves to be slowly tortured to death."

On July 2 the German wireless broadcast the same news. Within two days the Catholic *Vienna Reichspost* answered its German colleagues as follows:

"On July 1, thirty-one Nazi prisoners in Garsten started a hunger strike which they voluntarily stopped today (July 3) at 4 p.m. Most of these prisoners had been sentenced for attempts to blow up railways, electric power stations and traffic signals. Some of these committed acts of violence which cost human life (for example, the attack on sportsmen members of the German Catholic Party, near Krems). Others of them have acted as instigators and leaders of acts of rebellion. . . .

"As far as the physical condition of the prisoners is concerned, it is enough to state that the people who have these last few days been on a hunger strike have gained five kilograms and some as much even as 16 kilograms during their period of imprisonment. . . .

"The prisoners in the Garsten prison, who believed they could force their amnesty by a hunger strike because so many others of their caliber have already been pardoned, did not starve any longer than suited them; they did not think of giving up for too long the good food which is a feature of the Garsten prison—a place more like a health resort and nursing home than a prison."

The specialists in humane punishment on the staff of the *Volkische Beobachter* angrily replied that it is "unexampled frivolity," to call the Garsten prison a health resort or nursing home. They are right; it *is* unexampled frivolity, and typical of Catholic fascism in Austria to describe its prisons as health resorts and its scoundrelly behavior there as examples of Christian love. It is a case of still greater frivolity, however, when the Hitler fascists assume the garb of critics of a barbaric prison system, of supporters of mild prison treatment. The Nazis

in Austria are treated with the greatest mildness; Socialist or Communist workers on whom an illegal leaflet is found are sentenced to more severe punishment than the Nazis who throw bombs and commit the foulest of crimes. Catholic fascism does not want to abandon its alliance with the Hitler fascists and that is why the *Reichspost* in its reply contents itself with the brief suggestion that:

"If National-Socialism is so enthusiastic about an amnesty as appears in the Garsten case where serious crimes are at issue, the Third Empire will find wide possibilities for its application as no other country in the world."

The *Reichspost* is right; the prison system of the Third Empire is far more barbarous, far meaner, than the prison system in Austria. The prison in Garsten, Stein, Karlau, the Austrian concentration camp at Woellersdorf, the police regime which is brazenly treading under foot the fundamental rights of citizens, must fill every member of a cultured state with abhorrence—but the German prisoners, the German concentration camps, the German dictatorship are incomparably worse than the copies of these "achievements" in Austria. *The German executioners want to give the Austrian jailers a course on humane punishment.* Let us hear what they have to say.

The German Minister of Justice, Dr. Frank, on May 4, 1935, declared in the *Westfaelischen Landeszeitung:*

"Greater severity of punishment which in certain cases should be expressed in the public announcement of the sentence, and in the greater severity of the punishment will lead to the criminal learning once again to *tremble before righteous retribution.*"

Paragraph 48 of the German penal code, its new National-Socialist form of May 14, 1934, runs:

"The prisoners are to atone for the crime committed by loss of freedom. The withdrawal of liberty is so arranged that it is an evil felt by the prisoner. . . ."

Let us look at the punishment in Germany as it is in practice. The Governor of the Ploetzensee prison wrote as follows in the *Tag:*

"All the distortions of the idea of punishment have been set aside. Smoking is no longer allowed anywhere. The prisoners are no longer allowed to greet their relations with a kiss or a handshake on visiting day. The right of complaint is arranged in such a way that nothing can leave the institution unless previously seen by the governor. In Ploetzensee we expend 32 to 34 pfennigs per day on the prisoners. The new state has quite consciously arranged things so that punishment operates as an *evil* and is felt as such."

The Governor of the Ploetzensee prison thus pretty openly confesses that the prisoners are *systematically starved,* for anyone can calculate what food can be got for 32 pfennigs. The National-Socialist *Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung* reported on July 5, 1936:

"What is particularly noticeable is the *considerably sharper and severer discipline* which is maintained in prison. The prisoners have to obey orders with military exactitude and carry them out unconditionally. Refractoriness is rapidly tamed by severe punishment which in some cases is rendered more severe by putting the prisoner in irons."

Finally some paragraphs from the "Orders for Discipline and Punishment for Prison Camps" which the *Manchester Guardian* published:

"Paragraph 6. Eight days strict arrest and twenty-five blows at the beginning and the end of this sentence is meted out to any person who makes mocking and disrespectful remarks to any of the guards, who wilfully refrains from giving the prescribed salute, or who in general by his behavior shows that he does not wish to submit to the compulsory force of discipline and order."

"Paragraph 8. Fourteen days strict arrest and twenty-five blows at the beginning and the end of this sentence is meted out to any person who appears in the prisoners' camp or leaves it without

being accompanied by a convoy, who without permission joins a marching column setting off for work, who in letters or other reports takes the liberty of making disrespectful remarks about the National-Socialist leaders, the state and the government, the authorities and institutions; who glorifies Marxist or liberal leaders or the November parties; who gives information as to events taking place in the concentration camp."

"Paragraph 11. Any person who in the camp, at his place of work, in any secluded corner, in the cookhouse, the workshops, the lavatories and places of rest, enters into conversation with a view to incitement regarding politics, pronounces inflammatory speeches, meets for this purpose with others, gads about from one person to another, forms groups, gathers, receives and spreads *correct* or incorrect information about the concentration camps and its life with a view to providing food for the propaganda of the enemy, passes on this information to outside visitors, to prisoners being released or to warders, in written or oral form—throws such news over the camp walls with the aid of stones, etc., or prepares secret documents . . . will by force of revolutionary law be *hanged as an inciter.*" (Retranslated—*Ed.*)

On the basis of this code which regulates prison sentences in the Third Empire, the prisoners of Garsten should be hung as agitators or at least almost beaten to death.

The world has got accustomed to the fact that Germany under Hitler's rule has turned from a cultured state into a terrible torture chamber, in which furious beasts torture their victims to death with "scientific" thoroughness. Nevertheless, we would like to illustrate National-Socialist punishment by a few cases which have recently taken place.

On April 1 this year, the *Manchester Guardian* published a letter from an Englishman to whom a National-Socialist reported the following:

"Terrible beatings up take place in Lichtenburg concentration camp practically every day. I shall never forget the terrible groans of people being tortured. Three people caught while attempting to escape were beaten to death. People were incarcerated in the dark dungeons of the old castle for four weeks, for committing slight crimes. The prisoners were beaten both before and after this incarceration. During these four weeks they were not allowed to wash. In very cold weather they lay on the stone floor, and were given a dirty blanket with which to cover themselves."

Lawrence Simpson, the American, who was arrested in Hitler Germany, reported in the New York paper *Deutsches Volksecho* on March 27 an account of his imprisonment in the Hamburg prison:

"On a number of cells there were hung placards with the word, chains. That meant that the occupant of the cell lay not only in solitary confinement but also in chains. In one of these cells there was a man called Mehlis, one of the best and most courageous leaders of the Hamburg workers. . . . One day when I was cleaning the large iron lock on Mehlis' cell door, I took the opportunity when the warder went away around a corner, to quickly open the hatch of the 'Eye' and look in.

"What I saw made cold shudders run down my spine. There was Mehlis in the middle of the dark, narrow cell, chained hand and foot *with heavy irons to the stool on which he sat. His head was sunk on his breast. He had already sat for six months in solitary confinement like this, in irons.*"

The secretary of the German Relief Committee in Paris, P. Horn, reported in July of this year:

"The prison governors compete with each other in still further reducing the supply of food, *i.e.*, in making the present conditions even worse."

In a conversation with leading officials of the Hamburg prison the governor said to them:

"Food in the prison is *still far too good* and the funds provided for it *must be reduced by 30 per cent.*"

This devil in human clothing thus clearly declared his intention of starving the political prisoners to death. That this

is in bitter earnest is shown by a news item from the Esterwege concentration camp, where forty deaths were registered in a short space of time, the causes of death being torture in 90 per cent of the cases, and illness, *i.e.*, starvation, in 10 per cent.

The Nazis howl about a hunger strike in an Austrian prison but death from starvation stalks through their own prisons. The political prisoners in Hitler Germany are starving to death, but they are "fed" with chemical preparations of a special kind. In June of this year the *Daily Herald* announced that its Amsterdam correspondent had spoken to a German who had been number 6406 in Dachau Concentration Camp. This ex-prisoner told the correspondent that there is a special cell in Dachau where *the latest German poison gases are tried out on prisoners.* The prisoners certainly have gas masks; but as in the experiments gases are used which have not been tested before, there have *already been cases of serious poisoning and many of death.* Whips and irons, starvation and poison gas—these are the circumstances in which prison punishment is undergone in National-Socialist Germany.

The German executioners have given the Austrian jailers a course of lectures on humane punishment. We have acquainted the reader with this course. It cannot fail to interest all honest people. German fascism is trying methods on its prisoners which it has decided to use against the whole of mankind.

Improve the Political Education of Party Personnel — Master Bolshevism!

BY S. GOPNER

THE CONDITION OF PARTY SCHOOLS IN THE SECTIONS OF THE COMINTERN

ONE of the most important results of the correct conduct of the tactical line of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern is the almost universal *growth of the Communist Parties.* The increase in the membership of the Communist Parties of France and Spain, where the united and People's Fronts have been realized, has been particularly rapid.

The Communist Party of France, which had a membership of not more than 50,000 during the struggles of February, 1934, reached a membership of 332,000 in July, 1937, while the Communist Party of Spain, which in February, 1936, had a membership throughout Spain of 35,000, had 301,500 members in June, 1937, in just the provinces ruled by the Republican government—not counting the 64,000 members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia.

This increase in the membership of the Communist Parties is taking place chiefly among the wide masses of workers, although intellectuals and peasants are also joining. The Communist Parties are also being joined by members of the Social-Democratic Parties and, in a number of countries, of the Anarchist organizations. These new members have not only not mastered Bolshevism yet, but, in the majority of cases, bring into the Communist Parties considerable relics of Social-Democratic, Anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist or nationalist ideas. To overcome this requires *that the new members be educated in Bolshevik fashion.*

In all Communist Parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading section of the Communist International, the problem of promoting and educating cadres has been placed in the forefront. The February-March Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the report and concluding speech delivered by Comrade Stalin, emphasized all the importance and urgency of this problem. Can there be any doubt that the slogan of this plenum, "to master Bolshevism," is not lesser, but of greater importance for the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries than for the C.P.S.U.? Comrade Stalin said:

"I think that if we are able, if we succeed in giving ideological training to our Party cadres from top to bottom and steeling them politically so that they can find their bearings with ease in the internal and international situation, if we succeed in making them fully mature Leninists and Marxists capable of solving the questions of the leadership of the country without making serious mistakes, then we can thereby solve nine-tenths of all our tasks."

These words of Comrade Stalin refer in their entirety to the Communists of the capitalist countries as well. For Communist Parties which were but recently weak have now, in a number of countries, become tremendous factors in the political life there, and are conducting complicated, many-sided work, rich

both in form and essence. The struggle for the People's Front, the struggle to rally together against war and fascism elements differing in the most varying degrees as regards their class position, their interests, their level, and political convictions, requires of Communists the maintenance of a Bolshevik adherence to principle, steadfastness and at the same time great political tact and the maximum degree of flexibility. This struggle demands that *the foremost Party members be armed with Marxist-Leninist principles and that the Party members at large be imbued with a high degree of class-consciousness.*

An especially urgent task is for the rank-and-file Party members to master Bolshevism for the struggle against the ideology of fascism and of its agency, Trotskyism. In the capitalist countries not all Socialist workers by a long way, or even all Communists, understand that Trotskyism has long ceased to be a political current in the working class, and that the Trotskyists have become a band of spies and assassins. The fact that the roads taken by fascism and Trotskyism coincide is rendered absolutely obvious by the equally furious struggle they wage against the U.S.S.R. and the leadership of the C.P.S.U., and against the united proletarian and People's Fronts. However, the "Left" demagogy of Trotskyism continues to mislead those workers who are insufficiently steeled ideologically. The danger of Trotskyism in the capitalist countries is the sharper in that "the working class movement in the capitalist countries does not possess the means of defense against Trotskyist spies and provocateurs such as are in the hands of the proletarian state." (From the decisions of the E.C.C.I. Presidium.) The fighting task of driving the Trotskyists out of the Communist organizations, the labor movement and the organizations of the People's Front can only be successfully fulfilled if the *ideological level of the Communists is raised higher.*

How is the Party educational work carried on in the Communist Parties?

The Parties which are fighting in severely *illegal* conditions organize propaganda circles in their respective countries; only when in emigration can they develop on an extensive scale Party schools which cover large numbers and extend over long terms. However, it is essential to note the insufficient use made by the illegal Parties of all legal possibilities of carrying on Marxist propaganda and study in a number of countries.

But even in the majority of the legal Parties, after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern the question was not immediately raised in all its magnitude of organizing a *system* of Party education, a widespread network of Party schools to cover not only the foremost Party members, but also the rank-and-file members of the Party and the Young Communist League, and first and foremost *all the new Party members;* schools functioning not merely from time to time, but permanently.

In the year 1936 and the first months of 1937 a wide network of short-term courses for Party members and members of the Y.C.L. was organized in France, covering a large circle of Party members. In the largest districts, and also in the provincial organizations, twelve and fifteen-day courses were organized. In the center one-month Party schools for leaders of big organizations, one month schools for the youth, and fifteen-day courses for Party members working among the peasantry were established. But the development of this network of schools lags very much behind the tremendous demand, behind the general growth of the Party. All the courses mentioned, although short term, constitute a step forward. But they cannot be considered as Marxist-Leninist Party schools in the true sense of the word.

In a situation where the unity movement is growing rapidly and there is a sharp increase in the Party membership, short-term schools are quite expedient. Judging, however, their programs, these courses in the year 1936, while giving the students knowledge and skill chiefly for the conduct of the Party's political cam-

paigns, gave them very little knowledge of theory and the history of Marxism-Leninism. Only toward the end of the year were general questions included in the program of some of these courses. The French Communist Party is sufficiently strong to give the Party education of its cadres a firmer basis. The necessary turning point began with the work of the six-months *central* Party school, which was finished by over forty students in July, 1937.

The Communist Party of Spain is conducting a great deal of ideological and political work; it has a network of Party schools in the rear, but devotes its chief attention to the political education of the men in the Republican Army.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. is organizing a network of mass Party educational facilities. The variety of forms serves the strictly defined tasks of each type of course. Courses for *new* members which acquaint them with actual problems and the structure of the Party are to be found in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Evening schools on a district scale in a number of big cities study the decisions of the Seventh Congress and the tasks of the united front in the U.S.A. The same ends are served by the week-end schools. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. was ahead of the other sections of the Comintern in undertaking the organization of schools of from two weeks to three months.

The attention of the Party to the national minorities, in particular to the work of training Negro cadres, is to be specially welcomed. In Harlem a Negro school has been organized, and in New York a school of Spanish-speaking Communists. In both schools the students are temporarily withdrawn from their work.

The entire network of Party education, from the unit circles to regional schools, is crowned with the *Central Party School* which can take sixty students for a period of six months (instead of eleven weeks as hitherto).

Short-term courses have also been developed in other legal parties as well. The Communist Party of Great Britain has organized special lessons for new Party members. In the year 1937 the network of study courses has been considerably extended in Switzerland and Belgium. With a few exceptions, however, this work has nowhere been placed on a firm foundation or become systematic.

During recent years the "workers' university" type of school has played a big role in a number of countries where the movement is legal—The "Workers' Marxist School" in France, through which thousands pass annually, the "Workers' School" evening classes in the U.S.A. covering approximately from 9,000 to 10,000 students annually in New York alone, the German workers' university in Paris, the "Marx School" in London and its branches in Manchester and Glasgow, the "Socialist Academy" in Prague and its branches in other towns, the same type of school in Amsterdam and its branch in Rotterdam, the "Workers' Marxist Schools" in Zurich, Basle and Winterthur. Apart from the fact that they are centers of Marxist education among the masses, their outstanding importance lies in the fact that they accept as students workers of all political shades including non-party workers, thus encouraging *the growth of the united front movement.*

An essential link and decisive stage along the road toward the establishment of a well-planned system of Party education is the organization of a *central Party school,* under the auspices of the Central Committee of each legal Party.

If these still young central Party schools are to become places where truly Bolshevik cadres are hammered out, they must take into account the successes and shortcomings and the whole experience of Leninist schools of the advanced type.

The positive experience of the Leninist schools is that from them there have emerged comrades with quite a good Marxist training, armed with theoretical knowledge in the sphere of political economy, the international labor movement, the historical experience of the C.P.S.U. and the fundamentals of Leninism. Tens and hundreds of young Communist cadres who have passed through

these schools have afterwards played no small role in Bolshevizing their Parties. These schools, however, were not without great shortcomings, which affected the practical activity of the students trained.

What has been the chief shortcoming in the arrangement of the work of the Leninist Party schools? First and foremost, that same sin of sectarianism against which the fire was chiefly directed at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International—the sectarianism which hindered a number of Communist Parties from taking the high road of the united proletarian and People's Fronts, and laid its impress upon the work of the Party schools as well. This sectarianism expressed itself in the most varied forms: in the study plans, programs and methods of teaching. Marxist-Leninist theory was brought to the students in a fashion which hardly at all linked it up, or failed entirely to link it up, with the actual tasks of the Parties. Here there was marked the ignoring of the truth that Marxism "is not a dogma but a guide to action." This made the studies abstract and bookish.

There were quite a few students of these schools who had a fair knowledge of the international labor movement, but knew nothing of the history of their own country, its working class movement, the history of their Party, its current tasks.

"The main tasks of our Party schools it seems to me is to teach the Party members and young Communists in them to adapt the Marxist-Leninist method to the concrete situation of the given country to the given conditions, to the struggle not against the enemy 'in general,' but against the given, concrete enemy." (Dimitroff.)

This shortcoming was always fraught with great danger, and is especially so at the present stage, when fascism makes use for its own criminal ends of the historical past of each people, and not only of its prejudices, but also its best traditions. The Communist of any country must know the past history of his own country and people, and make it the business of his Party to defend the best traditions of heritage of its past. Lenin's well-known article, written during the war, called "On the National Pride of the Great Russians," is a brilliant example of this line. The Russian Bolsheviks would never have been Bolsheviks had they not first and foremost made a good study of the past and present of their own country; had they not been the bearers of the best traditions of the past of their country and their people. That part of the historic speech of Comrade Dimitroff at the Leipzig Trial, where he talked about Bulgaria, was one of the best aimed shots at the fascists' speculation on national traditions and sentiments.

The shortcomings in the study of history which were pointed out by Comrades Stalin, Kirov and Zhdanov in their well-known "Remarks Regarding the Plan for a Textbook on the 'History of the U.S.S.R.'" left their impress to a considerable degree on the programs and textbooks dealing with the history of the C.P.S.U. now in use in the sections of the Communist International.

The "Remarks" and the letter of Comrade Stalin about the study of the history of the C.P.S.U., which were recently published, have been of tremendous assistance to all sections of the Communist International in the work of improving the study of the history of the C.P.S.U., while a study of the historical experience of the C.P.S.U. is now more than ever before a most important task for each section of the Communist International. The recent decision of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. concerning the struggle against Trotskyist agents of fascism once more emphasizes the importance of this task.

A further big shortcoming in the education given was that the historic experience of the C.P.S.U. was incorrectly, mechanically passed on to Communists of all countries. In studying the history of the C.P.S.U., the whole history of Bolshevism was at times reduced exclusively to the struggle against Menshevism. The attention paid to the general situation

and the struggle against tsarism and the counter-revolutionary parties of the landowners and the bourgeoisie was negligible and occasionally non-existent. Insufficient attention was paid to the lessons of the struggle of the Bolsheviks against Trotskyism. Absolutely insufficient attention was paid to the experience of the struggle of the Bolsheviks for the revolutionary unity of the working class and of their struggle to win allies in the shape of the wide masses of non-proletarians. Is it necessary to state how important is the use precisely of this experience of the Bolsheviks in the struggle for the united proletarian and the People's Front?

Much work was done in 1936 by the tutors in the Party schools to alter the programs in the direction of linking them up more with actual life, as well as eliminating a number of mistakes. However, it must be said that one frequently meets with offshoots of sectarianism, as yet not outlived in the revised programs as well. This is particularly clearly expressed in the *sectarian treatment of the tactical turn of the Communist International as indicated in the Seventh Congress.*

The new line of tactics is frequently glossed over in the programs. First, an insufficiently precise analysis is given of the big *changes* in the world situation which predetermined that change of tactics (the new relation of forces on the world arena in connection with the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and its increased weight in world affairs, the sharpening of the crisis of capitalism, the mass offensive of fascism, the turn of the working class movement toward unity, the changes in Social-Democracy, the growth of the Communist Parties).

Second, the new line of tactics is glossed over by the *one-sided* treatment of the united proletarian and People's Fronts *exclusively* from the viewpoint of leading the masses to the proletarian revolution, and by belittling the importance of such tremendous historic tasks as the averting of war, the crushing of fascism and the defense of democracy; as the outliving by the parties of their isolation from the masses and their transformation into really mass parties and serious political factors in the life of their respective countries. Third, the new line of tactics is depicted as a mere continuation of the old line without taking account of the new content and the new forms. In particular, in one of the programs used the new line of tactics was made to appear as a simple continuation of the "class against class" tactics, instead of showing that the Seventh Congress, while maintaining the continuity of the whole experience of the Comintern, introduced into the united front tactics of a new content in connection with the experience of the battles of 1934 and the new world situation.

It is just as wrong to gloss over what is *new* in the content and forms of the united front as it is to deny the *continuity* that exists between the new line of tactics and the fundamental strategic and tactical lines of the Comintern.

Both one and the other mistake are connected with "indolence of thought," with stagnant schematics and sometimes also with conscious resistance to the change in tactics which has already brilliantly stood the test in the fire of the struggle, but the meaning of which has still not been grasped by many people.

Although the revised programs still contain not a few shortcomings, their main trend clearly reflects the actual tasks facing the world Communist movement and each individual Communist Party. The programs of the central Party schools are now being drawn up on the basis of the work accomplished. The growing attention to this urgent question on the part of the leaders of the Communist Parties is an undoubted step forward in the work of correct organization.

Progress will be assured if Marxist-Leninist thought spreads in each Communist Party, if each country becomes a source enriching the great principles of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. "The role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a Party that is guided by a vanguard theory." (Lenin.)

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France

ON JULY 22-23 there took place an enlarged plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France. The plenum was devoted to the immediate tasks of the Communist Party in the struggle to fulfil the program of the People's Front and to the creation of a united party of the proletariat.

Besides forty-six members of the Central Committee, seventy representatives of regional Party committees, Communist members of the Chamber of Deputies, Communist Mayors of a number of municipalities took part in the work of the plenum. The sessions of the plenum were open. Among the visitors who attended the plenum there were: Louis Aragon, Jean Richard Bloch, Nizan, Moussinac, Rene Blech, Francis Jourdain the architect, the scientists Wallon, Politzer, and others.

A large number of press representatives also attended the sessions of the plenum. These included the correspondents of the Havas, Fournier, Radio and United Press agencies; representatives of the *Temps*, *L'Ordra*, *News Chronicle*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Populaire*, and others.

Jacques Duclos, reporting on the chief question of the plenum agenda, dwelt in detail on the cause of the recent government crisis and pointed to a number of specific examples of how the forces of reaction were doing their utmost to prevent the operation of the program of the People's Front.

"If," said Duclos, "the French people, thanks to their unity within the framework of the People's Front, have been able to improve their lot, they cannot, nevertheless, forget that the program endorsed by the people through the ballot box in the year 1936, is far from being fully realized."

The reporter enumerated the measures indicated in the program of the People's Front which were not fulfilled by the Blum government. These include: the actual disarmament and dissolution of the fascist organizations; the democratic reform of the taxation policy; the satisfaction of a number of the demands put forward by the peasantry; the control over the flight abroad of capital; the provision of pensions to the aged, etc.

Even the measures provided for in the People's Front program which were operated by the Blum government were in actual fact sabotaged to the utmost by big capital.

"For example, instead of providing the workers with holidays between May and September, at the expense of the factories, the capitalists are closing down the big factories without in the slightest degree reckoning with the requirements of the national economy, but only in order to have a pretext for encroaching upon paid holidays."

Referring to the position of the Communist Party of France in relation to the Chautemps government, Comrade Duclos said:

"Perhaps the moment has already arrived to take measures which will make it possible in the future to avoid new frictions that are to be deplored? As for the Communist Party, it is prepared to

adopt the measures calculated to ensure the best functioning of democratic institutions. But it should not be overlooked that the menace to democratic institutions of France comes from the money magnates, who constitute a secret force more powerful than the forces of law."

A considerable part of Duclos' report was devoted to unmasking the criminal intrigues against the people, of these money magnates.

"These are the people who, by bringing about the high cost of living and disorganizing production, want to reduce to nought the social gains won by the People's Front. These are the people who out of hatred for the People's Front sabotage the economic revival and doom the state to difficulties in order to draw benefits therefrom. These are the people who cheat the treasury, who counteract every real measure undertaken to prevent the robbery of the state. These are the people who speculate first on the rise, then on the fall of the exchange, regulating the rate of exchange to suit themselves; they are the people who are ruining the small bondholders and are constantly conspiring against the franc. . . . These are the people who, basing themselves on their international interests, undertake deals with the enemies of France. These people have nothing in common with creative labor, integrity, nor with the technique of production; they are only stock exchange parasites, speculators, knights of the money-bags. They do not, of course, represent the French nation. We sons of the French people deny the right of the Rothschilds, De Wendels, Schneiders and other representatives of international capital, to speak and act on behalf of our country."

Duclos pointed to a number of financial measures whereby the arbitrary behavior of the big parasite speculators would be curbed. He declared that an end must be put to the criminal flight of capital abroad; over 100 billion francs have left France in this way, so that the national economy cannot but suffer therefrom. Duclos demanded the application of that article in the People's Front program which provides for "control over the export of capital and also the suppression of the flight of capital by means of severe measures, including even the confiscation of property concealed abroad or of its equivalent in France."

The Communist Party, Duclos declared, has on more than one occasion pointed to the chronic disorder in the financial system and exposed the cause of it. He recalled the fact that the Communist Party, besides presenting a draft plan of general financial reform, had also introduced a bill for a levy on large fortunes that would give the country an immediate income of seven billion francs. But the proposed bill was not put into operation.

Turning to the question of foreign policy, Duclos declared:

"Perpetual retreat before the warmongers, before world fascism, has led, in the sphere of foreign policy, to the same results as the repeated retreat before the financial oligarchy in the sphere of financial policy. While talking about the defense of peace, they let loose the forces of war, just as, while talking about the situation of the national finances, they helped the financial magnates to weave a monstrous plot against the nation. The French people are naturally alarmed at the turn events are taking. . . .

"France must take up a position which coincides with the interests of peace. Down with the blockade of Republican Spain, which must be given the right to purchase arms and ammunition! In proclaiming this we are only insisting upon the operation of the People's Front program, which demands the defense of peace through collective security, the determination of the aggressor and the automatic and common application of sanctions in the event of aggression."

Further, Duclos called to mind that the French people have done much to help Republican Spain.

"Our Communist Party," said he, "is proud of being the initiator of the Bilbao Aid Committee, which went to the assistance of the Basque people when the latter were unable to hold out against the forces of the enemy. In displaying

our solidarity with the Basque people, the huge majority of whom are Catholics, we showed what human solidarity means to us, we showed what our slogan of friendship with the Catholics really means in practice; we hurried to the aid of the Basque Catholics at a time when fascist vandalism was wreaking its vengeance on them. The Basque people saw how airplanes marked with the swastika sowed destruction and grief, how they killed women and children en masse.

"We, Communists, along with all people devoted to progress, are proud that we were able to counter the bloody barbarity of fascism with the glorious, heroic feats of the Soviet pilots, who successively conquered the North Pole, linked up Moscow and the United States by flying over the North Pole, and established a world long-distance record by their non-stop flight to the Mexican border. There has been a complete collapse of the spying and diversionist plans of the Gestapo, against which the Soviet Union is energetically defending itself by democratically applying the law in all its severity against all those who are guilty, regardless of the posts they occupy."

The words of Comrade Duclos about Spain and more so about the Soviet Union were constantly interrupted by applause throughout the hall.

The concluding part of Duclos' report was devoted to the questions of unity of the labor movement, nationally and internationally and to the immediate tasks of the People's Front.

Duclos said:

"We, Communists, are prepared to undertake full responsibility in a government formed on the lines of the People's Front. We are prepared to do so, but not at any price. We are prepared to take part in a government of the People's Front, in order to carry through the program approved by the whole country; to give pensions to the aged workers, to set up an insurance fund against bad harvests; to fulfil the demands of the workers who are unwilling to give up their wage increases and social legislation; to give the peasants and traders what they have been awaiting many months, and to modify financial policy in the spirit of the joint program.

"We shall not allow the flight of gold from the Banque de France without announcing to the whole country the names of the guilty individuals. We shall assist in making known to the people the names of those who export capital, who thereby create a menace to the economic life of the country. We shall occupy ourselves with the real dissolution of the fascist leagues. In a word, we shall act in the government in accordance with the demands of the People's Front program, as confirmed by the votes of the people."

Comrade Duclos concluded his report with the slogan: "For a strong, free and happy France!"

A number of secretaries of the regional Party organizations and leading Party workers took part in the discussion. Gabriel Peri and Berlioz, Communist Deputies, developed certain points in Duclos' report, using additional material to strengthen them. Peri dealt with foreign policy, and Berlioz with the financial policy of the Government, Raymond Guyot, secretary of the E.C. of the Young Communist International and of the C.C. of the Y.C.L. of France, told the plenum of the results of the recent Y.C.L. Congress in France, of the growth of the Y. C.L., which now has over 100,000 members, of its successes in the field of mass work among the youth. Bernadette Cattaneo dealt with the work of women Communists. Renaud Jean dealt in detail with the struggle of the Party to defend the interests of the working peasantry. Pierre Semard dealt with the work of the Communists in the Central Council of the Seine (Paris municipality), and Cogniot with the work among the intelligentsia.

Vaillant-Couturier, the editor of *L'Humanite*, devoted a considerable part of his speech to the work of the Communist Party in the sphere of defending culture. He noted that, thanks to the policy of the People's Front, the Communist Party now stands at the head of all the truly progressive forces in the country. In defending bread, liberty and peace, said Couturier, we are at the same time working to provide the best conditions for the

development of writers, artists and other men of science and art.

"We, Communists," said he, "are striving to bring about the emancipation of the individual from capitalist oppression. We are fighting for human dignity, for the development of man at his true worth."

The plenum unanimously adopted a telegram of greeting to the C.P.S.U. and Comrade Stalin, and a telegram of greetings to the Spanish people. The speech of Alvarez del Vayo, who was present at the plenum as a visitor, was warmly greeted.

Expressive of the ever growing contact between the Communist Party of France and the masses were the numerous delegations from various organizations and bodies of working people who came to greet the plenum. The plenum listened with great attention to the speech of the representatives of the 7,000 Communists employed in the "Renault" works and of the delegation of prominent representatives of the French intelligentsia.

In conclusion, Comrade Thorez made a report to the plenum, which is included in the present number of this journal.*

The plenum unanimously adopted a short resolution instructing the Political Bureau to take measures to ensure the immediate operation of the line contained in the main report of Duclos and the speech of Thorez.

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* See p. 696 of this issue.—*Ed.*

Program of Joint Action of the Socialist and Communist Parties of Spain

[*The National Coordination Committee of the Socialist and Communist Parties of Spain has published the following document drawn up by a commission composed of delegates from both parties.*]

1. *RAISING the fighting capacity of the people's republican army.* A united people's army, abolition of what remains of the militia and other autonomous units; strict operation of universal conscription by reducing to a minimum the exceptions made hitherto; continuous increase of reserves; energetic and systematic purge of the army; promotion of commanders who come from the people and have been developed in the course of the fighting, to positions in the high command; a single high command, operative leadership of the army and all operations at the fronts; moral and practical aid to the military commissars in the fulfilment of their important duties; military vigilance against agents of the enemy; preconscription training for the working youth; practical, political and moral aid in increasing the fighting capacity of all types of arms; constant solicitude regarding the living conditions of the fighters in the great people's army, which has in its ranks the most heroic fighters of the people, men who deserve special attention as regards food, sanitary conditions, medical service, timely payments of wages and payment of pensions to the families of invalids and the fallen; training of invalids in new trades.

2. *A powerful war industry.* The organization and development of a powerful war industry capable of producing in sufficient quantity all types of weapons and ammunition necessary for the front and for the reserves; the immediate nationalization and adaptation to the requirements of war, of the existing munition works; increase in the productivity of labor and control of the quality of production; transfer to the authorities of all weapons and munitions possessed by different groups and organizations in the rear, and severe punishment for keeping arms without the requisite permission; explanatory campaign in trade union organizations and among the working masses with a view to rousing competition and initiative among them, to increase the output of the war industry and strengthen labor discipline in munition works.

3. *Active assistance to the fighters and the civil population in organizing fortification works.*

4. *Active assistance in the organizing and rapid functioning of transport* for the requirements of the fronts and the armies, by a consistent policy of public works based on the construction of new roads and strategic railways, and also on the improvement of road transport.

5. *Coordination and planning of the national economy.* A policy of the centralized coordination and planning of the national economy by the creation of a

National Economic Council, with the collaboration of the trade union organizations and autonomous regions; municipalization of communal services; operation of measures necessary for the struggle against abuses in connection with raw materials and manufactured products.

6. *A practical policy of systematically improving the material position, conditions of labor and living and cultural conditions of the workers of town and country.* The working class thoroughly appreciates the requirements of war; it understands that as long as the war continues, general sacrifices are necessary. However, it is clear that by improving the national economy and coming to a better understanding as to the degree of sacrifice and efforts required—and this can be done—it will be possible to achieve a rapid improvement in the conditions of the working people. Equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex and age; differentiated wages, to ensure the just reward for labor according to the quantity and quality of work done; adoption of the appropriate measures to combat the high cost of living.

7. *In the villages, the policy of increasing the productivity of labor, strengthening the unity between the agricultural and urban proletariat on the one hand, and the working peasantry on the other, not only for the duration of the war, but after the victory as well.* To this end it is necessary to guarantee land to those engaged on it, namely, the agricultural laborers and peasants, while recognizing their full right to select what shall be their form of labor, whether collective or individual, without any compulsion being exercised, and respecting their rights to the products of agriculture; financial, technical and commercial aid, and also help as regards exporting their products to be rendered to all voluntarily organized collective farms and individual peasants; active assistance to be given to agricultural, producing, consuming and selling cooperatives, to ensure their collaboration.

8. *A war supplies policy* to ensure first and foremost that the men at the front, the workers engaged on transport and in the war industry receive supplies; adoption of appropriate measures to ensure continuous supplies to the civil population.

9. *Recognition and observance of the legal and historic rights of the peoples of Catalonia, Galicia and Biscay,* thus ensuring a close and fraternal alliance in the common struggle of all peoples of Spain against the common enemy, Spanish and foreign fascism.

10. *A policy directed toward maintaining good relations with the trading and industrial petty bourgeoisie.* It is necessary to take account of the fact that in the system of coordination of the chief branches of the economic life of the country, the free functioning of small private enterprises—trading and industrial—constitute a necessary addition which helps to strengthen the national economy.

11. *Strict public order throughout the whole of the territory of the republic.*

Maintenance of public order exclusively through the organs of power; strict penalties in accordance with the requirements of war, to be inflicted on all persons and organizations attempting to take the place of the government, or preparing or carrying through armed action against the republican authorities; political and administrative measures to purge the rear of spies, agents of the enemy and wreckers; explanatory campaign among the masses, to train them in the spirit of real vigilance toward the enemies of the people.

12. *Strengthening the People's Front.* Bearing in mind that the policy of the People's Front is now the only correct revolutionary policy, and that it guarantees victory, the Socialist and Communist Parties must in all their activities be inspired by this policy, must strengthen the positions of the People's Front and its effectiveness, and fight

against everything that can weaken the organized forces of the people and shake its unity. All anti-fascist, political and trade union organizations must in all their work render the maximum support to the policy of the People's Front and the fulfilment of decisions adopted.

13. *Trade union unity.* Bearing in mind the importance of trade union unity and the role it will play in solving various problems of our struggle and in accelerating victory, the Socialist and Communist Parties must work to strengthen contacts between the two trade union centers—the U.G.T. and the C.N.T.—on the basis of a common program of action and collaboration with the People's Front government in all spheres of production and military affairs.

14. *Youth Unity.* Taking into account the tremendous importance of the United Socialist League of Youth, which includes in its ranks several hundreds of thousands of fighters at the front and in industry who are collaborating with the government and other organizations to solve the problems raised by the war, the Socialist and Communist Parties must render all possible support to United Socialist Youth in their political, economic and cultural demands, in order to secure for the youth a worthy and happy life, and to fight against the enemies of youth unity who at the same time are enemies of unity between the two parties, enemies of the government and the People's Front.

15. *International unity.* Faced with the open intervention of foreign fascism in our country, what is needed is a common policy by the international labor movement in aid of Spain. This policy should help us to drive out of our country the alien forces which have invaded it, and to ensure worldwide peace, which is being seriously menaced by the war that is being conducted against the Spanish people. In accordance with our policy of unity, the Socialist and Communist Parties will fight to bring about joint action between the Second and Third Internationals and the International Federation of Trade Unions, for closer and more energetic united action so as to defeat the criminal intrigues of fascism, and to bring about unity between the two Internationals as the most stable guarantee of peace and of the revolutionary gains of the workers.

16. *Defense of the Soviet Union.* The active solidarity displayed by the great Soviet people toward the international labor movement and particularly its solidarity at the present time toward our country, its steadfast support of our cause, and the policy of peace which it is energetically conducting for the well-being of all mankind—all this has roused sympathy toward the U.S.S.R. among all Spaniards worthy of the name, who see in the U.S.S.R. the most courageous fighter against fascism in all countries, for democracy and the liberty of the peoples. Hence, the Socialist and Communist Parties consider the defense of the U.S.S.R., the land of socialism, to be the sacred duty not only of Socialists and Communists, worthy of such a name. The Socialist and Communist Parties will fight their utmost against the enemies of the U.S.S.R. unmasking them before the whole of the people, frustrating their foul campaigns, overt or covert, and working for the still further consolidation of connections between the Spanish people and the Soviet Union.

* * *

The rank-and-file organizations of the two parties must establish local and provincial coordination committees wherever such do not as yet exist, or develop them and augment their membership. Moreover, it is necessary to observe the parity principle for the two organizations. Weekly meetings must be called to guide and direct the joint activity on the basis of this program, and also to solve all questions that arise. Immediately after the publication of the present document, the committees must, on the basis of this general line, work out a program of joint

action in regard to all local and provincial questions, and present it for confirmation to the National Coordination Committee.

The groups of the two parties in parliament, in the provincial and local councils, and in the trade union organizations, as well as their groups in factories, must establish close contact and coordinate their work, insofar as it is connected with the carrying out of this program, with the solution of problems that arise, and with the strengthening of collaboration between the active members of both parties. This program of joint action should be explained, popularized and defended in the press of both parties and through special meetings called for the purpose.

We call upon all organizations and all Party workers to help us fulfil the tasks we have set ourselves, having in view the establishment of a united party in the future; we call upon them to do this with determination and enthusiasm in accordance with the general line laid down by the National Committee.

From the Socialist Party:

RAMON PENIA, JUAN VIDARTE,
RAMON LAMONEDA,
MANUEL CARBERA,

From the Communist Party:

JOSE DIAZ, DOLORES IBARRURI,
LUIS JIORLA, PEDRO CHEKA.

August 17, 1937.

The New Unity Pact Between the Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy *

SOCIALIST and Communist Parties of Italy have stood together now for three years in relation to the policy of united action. This is a policy which in Italy, in emigration and in Spain has brought positive results, and served as a necessary weapon in the struggle of the proletariat against fascism and war. Being fully determined therefore to consolidate the results achieved, to increase and develop them, the two parties concluded an agreement, a new pact for united action on the following points:

1. The Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy, possessing the common goal of overthrowing fascism and capitalism and building up a socialist society, decide to strengthen the ties which bind them both in the sphere of general political activities and in the sphere of day-to-day practical work. They consider the existence of stable unity of action between the Communist and Socialist Parties to be one of the basic conditions for uniting all anti-fascist forces and establishing a People's Front movement in Italy.

2. At the present stage of the class struggle and political struggle, both parties undertake to call upon and organize the entire Italian people for the struggle to win liberty and democracy and to establish a democratic republic headed by the working class—a republic which will secure to the people bread, peace and liberty, which will adopt the necessary measures to secure the root and branch destruction of the economic basis of reaction and fascism (nationalization of monopolist industrial and banking capital, the destruction of the remnants of feudalism in the villages, etc.) and open up the way to socialism.

3. In order to achieve this aim, both parties undertake to conduct a campaign for unity on the basis of the anti-fascist struggle of all parties, anti-fascist organizations in Italy and in emigration, and also for the establishment of unity between the two trade union centers at present in emigration. At the same time they resolve to begin an open discussion among the anti-fascist forces in Italy and in emigration, with a view to elaborating a program of the Italian People's Front.

4. Convinced of the urgent necessity of our struggle against the home and international policy of fascism—the only way leading to a struggle to overthrow the fascist regime—the two parties undertake to fight shoulder to shoulder in the factories, in the mass fascist organizations (trade unions, Dopolavoro organizations, etc.), in populated areas, in the youth organizations, in the villages, in school and in the army, so as to popularize all the immediate economic and political demands of the masses of the people, using in addition for this purpose all the legal possibilities of the fascist system.

In close connection with the direct economic and political demands of the masses of people, the two parties will encourage material and political solidarity with the Spanish Republic, its army, its

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people and its government; they will conduct a campaign designed to coordinate and make use of all the forces hostile to the foreign policy of Mussolini, in order to compel the fascist government to withdraw its expeditionary corps from Spain and smash the "Berlin-Rome military axis."

The two parties support an international policy of peace, the strengthening of the League of Nations on the basis of a system of collective security and mutual assistance against the aggressor; they undertake to fight together in defense of the Soviet Union and to give active support to the widest movement of the masses of people in all countries for the observation of the League of Nation's Covenant against the fascist aggressors, and for the withdrawal from Spain of all the fascist occupation troops.

The two parties agree to place the means of agitation which they possess at the service of this policy.

5. In face of the menace of general war being provoked by fascism in Europe and throughout the world, the two parties firmly decide to intensify the mobilization of the masses against the provocations of Mussolini and Hitler and to support all forces striving to preserve and consolidate peace.

They assert that universal war can be averted if peace is energetically defended by the peoples of all countries and if every policy of capitulation to the provocation and extortions of the fascist states is unmasked as a policy that stands in contradiction to the interests of peace and democracy.

If, in spite of all, such a war does break out, the proletariat will make it the grave of fascism by fiercely defending their positions in the countries where they are in power, in the countries where they enjoy elementary rights, and fighting against war where reaction is in power by raising the banner of liberty and of the solidarity of the peoples against fascism at home and throughout the world.

6. The two parties will collaborate in bringing about united action between the Labor and Socialist International, the Communist International and the trade union internationals on an international scale and in each separate country in accordance with the concrete demands of the anti-fascist struggle.

7. The two parties see in united action the first step toward the creation of a united party of the working class which will be the most powerful weapon of the proletariat in their struggle against fascism and capitalism. The problems of organizational unity will be more deeply examined and discussed by the two parties in the light of the experience of Italy and other countries.

8. The two parties made it an obligation for Communists and Socialists in Italy and in emigration to work together in the ranks of the Italian People's Alliance created in France so as to develop the anti-fascist policy of united action by the People's Front.

9. The two parties preserve their complete autonomy as regards functions and ideology. Each of the parties continues its independent propaganda and work, and strives to use its right to express itself with complete frankness on the theoretical and tactical differences which hinder fusion, in such a way as not to render difficult or hinder the development of joint action.

In order to ensure the achievement of positive results by joint action the two parties will take the necessary internal measures to build up the work of their organizations in such a way that everything is directed toward strengthening unity of action and achieving the common goal.

10. The two parties undertake to collaborate closely in the struggle against fascist provocation and espionage, whatever form they may take.

11. The two parties maintain complete freedom in recruiting members. They agree that during the period of joint action they will refrain from all interference, each in the work of the other party, which may lead to breakaways, the undermining of discipline and to the discrediting of the other party.

12. The two parties operate unity of action for the achievement of the aims and forms indicated in the present pact, in all parts of their organizations.

They undertake to popularize and explain the present pact in the villages, accompanying it with directives such as will help the members of the two parties to carry it out; they undertake jointly and preliminarily to examine all problems and all proposals which stimulate unity of action.

ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY
(Section of the Labor and Socialist International)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY
(Section of the Communist International)

Paris, July 26, 1937.

International United Action of the Youth on Behalf of the Spanish People

BY GIL GREEN

ON JULY 5 a joint conference of representatives of Young Socialist and Young Communist Internationals took place for the first time, in Valencia.

In the work of the Conference the following took part: Ollenhauer and Hansen for the Young Socialist International, Wolf and Green from the Young Communist International, and Carillo from the United Socialist League of Youth of Spain.

In opening the conference Santiago Carillo, Secretary of the United Socialist Youth League of Spain, said:

"This is a historic day, not only for the youth of Spain, but also for the youth of the world. Today, as we meet here, at this very moment, the Republican troops are starting their offensive on the fronts of Madrid. For us, this coincidence is symbolic. It shows that as our army begins to advance, so also advance the forces of democracy throughout the world."

A day prior to the meeting a mass meeting was held in the city of Madrid in honor of the Socialist and Communist youth delegations. At this meeting it already became clear that it was possible to bring about united action of the two Youth Internationals in aid of the Spanish people despite the existence of differences on the general question of unity.

The central question dealt with at this meeting in Valencia was the question of how to coordinate and intensify the work of both internationals in rendering aid to the Spanish people.

In the official statement issued in the name of the representatives of both internationals the following is stated:

"The United Socialist Youth League of Spain, the Y.S.I. and the Y.C.I. are anxious that the youth of the whole world shall clearly understand the great significance of the struggle in Spain for the peace and freedom of Europe. Spain today is the firing-line in the fight for democracy and against international fascism. Help and support for Spain provides the best guarantee for the future of the youth.

"The representatives of the Socialist and Communist Youth Internationals are in agreement to strengthen their common work in the International Youth Commission for aid to Republican Spain and to make this committee the center for aid to the youth of Spain.

"Both internationals witness with pleasure that the aid for the Spanish youth is organized in a similar way in the various countries in which the possibilities for this exist.

"The Socialist and Communist Youth Internationals regard themselves as obliged to place absolutely all their forces in support of the struggle for freedom which is going on in Spain, particularly in view of the great heroism and magnificent self-sacrifice with which the Spanish youth are participating in the struggle.

"The representatives of the Y.S.I. and Y.C.I. greet with pride and heartfelt sympathy the United Socialist Youth League of Spain. Both internationals are convinced that the uniting of the Spanish youth in a national alliance is a po-

litical necessity and a guarantee of the coming triumph of the people and of the youth of Spain. Both internationals are also profoundly of the opinion that the youth of the whole world will be grateful to the youth of Spain for their heroic struggle.

"The Socialist and Communist Youth Internationals will demonstrate their alliance with the United Socialist Youth League of Spain through new proof of their practical solidarity."

This agreement marks an important step forward for both internationals; it will not only help unite the ranks of the youth in behalf of the Spanish people, but will also help improve the general relations between the Socialist and Communist youth of the world.

A series of concrete proposals introduced in the name of the Spanish youth, as, for instance, the organization of joint mass meetings upon the return of the two delegations, the transformation of this year's International Socialist Youth Week into a week for Spain, etc., was unfortunately not accepted by the representatives of the Young Socialist International. We hope that the Executive Committee of the Y.S.I. will in the near future see fit to adopt some of these proposals.

The agreement arrived at in Valencia undoubtedly constitutes the basis for improving the joint work of the Socialist and Communist youth. But an agreement by itself is not enough. Improvement will not take place automatically. What is needed is joint energetic work of the Young Socialists and Young Communists in helping the Spanish people. Upon this also depends the future relations between the two Internationals.

Can we say that all is well in this respect? No! Great headway has been made in a number of countries. In Spain organic unity resulted in the building of the United Socialist Youth organization with approximately 500,000 members. In Belgium and Latvia organic unity has also been realized. An undoubted success is the recent international conference of Socialist and Communist students which established an International Student Alliance for Socialism.

However, in a number of countries the relations between the Socialist and Communist youth organizations have either not improved at all in the past period, as in the United States and France, or only slightly improved, as in the Scandinavian countries.

In a number of countries, especially the United States and France, the reason for this state of affairs is the disruptive counter-revolutionary activity of the Trotskyists. Boring from within the Y.P.S.L.'s, covering up their counter-revolutionary work with Leftist phrases, the Trotskyite wreckers inject poison and sow confusion and discontent in the ranks of the Socialist youth.

At a time when the representatives of the Young Socialist International, Ollanhauer and Hansen, correctly declared that "there can be no difference of opinion" in regard to the struggle in Spain and that they "regard themselves as obliged to place absolutely all their forces in support of the struggle for freedom which is going on in Spain," the Trotskyist scum within the organizations of the Socialist youth works in every way possible to demobilize the forces working to aid the Spanish people, tries through slander, provocation and armed counter-revolutionary putsches to deal blows at the democratic republic of Spain.

Here is one typical example of the activity of these agents of fascism. In the city of Detroit, U.S.A., a handful of Trotskyists organized a demonstration against the legitimate Spanish government in front of the Spanish consulate. And this act of the Trotskyist provocateurs was conducted in the name of the Socialist youth!

The leading comrades of the Young Socialist International, who sincerely wish to give aid to the Spanish people in their struggle against fascism, must give thought to this. When they begin to fulfil the pledges made in Madrid and Valencia they will meet with more and more sabotage and resistance from these

enemies of the Spanish people, from these agents of Franco and Hitler.

In order to carry into life the agreement arrived at in Valencia and the promises contained in the joint statement, it is therefore necessary to conduct merciless warfare against Trotskyism. If these Trotskyist-fascist enemies of the people still carry on their wrecking, disruptive activities within the ranks of the working class youth, this is also due to the very inadequate activity on the part of many of our Y.C.L.'s in fighting against and exposing the role of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and clarifying the masses of youth and specially the honest Socialist youth on the issues at stake in the struggle of the Spanish people. This must be done if our Leagues are to successfully help rally the masses of democratic youth in behalf of the Spanish people, and if they are to establish unity of action with the Socialist youth organizations. *A necessary condition for the success of the struggle in aid of the Spanish people and their independence is that the Trotskyist elements are exposed and driven out of the labor movement.*

The agreement arrived at in Valencia between the two youth Internationals opens up new, wide perspectives for joint struggle and work between young Socialists and Communists on behalf of Republican Spain. The fullest support must be given to the extension and consolidation of the various national committees of the International Youth Commission for Republican Spain. Wherever possible in towns, villages and shops, local committees should be established and should be made up not only of Socialist and Communist youth, but also representatives of other sections of the anti-fascist youth. We must carry through International Socialist Youth Week as a week of solidarity with the Spanish people by organizing joint activities between the Communist and Socialist youth organizations.

There is no better way to celebrate International Youth Day, there is no better way to demonstrate the meaning and power of proletarian internationalism, than through rallying the youth of the world in defense of the Spanish people and their victory over the forces of barbaric fascism.

An International Students' Alliance of Struggle for Socialism

BY V. DUCROS

SOCIALIST and Communist student groups have long been in existence in the universities, but these small groups, often isolated from the student masses, at best occupied themselves with the general questions of the corresponding parties, and failed to regard themselves as organizations which should respond to the various needs and requirements of the students. This failure of the Communist and Socialist students to take any interest in the problems and needs of the student masses considerably facilitated the propaganda of fascism in the universities, and helped the students to pass to the camp of fascism in Italy, Germany, Austria and other countries.

In recent years important changes have been taking place in the student movement. On the one hand, the worsening of the material position of students and in particular uncertainty as regards the future, the crisis of bourgeois ideology and the offensive of fascism; and on the other hand, the uniting of the working masses in the People's Front, the fact that the best representatives of the intelligentsia have joined the cause of the people, the successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the heroic resistance of the Spanish people to the aggression of international fascism—all these factors have evoked considerable changes in the student movement, in the ranks of which progressive currents are more and more frequently to be met with.

And the students who consider themselves champions of socialism are faced with the task of helping to develop and strengthen the progressive currents in the student movement, of bringing the masses of young intellectuals to the side of the people in the struggle for bread, peace and liberty.

The International Student Congress—of Socialists and Communists—which took place in Paris between July 15 and 18, was an important stage in the development of the student movement. The Congress was faced with the task of indicating the general line of the struggle and of finding ways and means for the creation of a united organization of students—Socialists and Communists—on an international scale. This was preceded by the establishment of unity in a number of countries.

In England, since the Cardiff Congress in January, 1936, the students—Socialists and Communists—have been members of a united organization—the University Labor Federation, which is affiliated to the British Labor Party. The united organization has, since the time it was established, more than doubled its membership and is playing a role of first class importance throughout the student movement of England.

In Belgium, after the congress of the General Association of Socialist Students which took place in November, 1936, there was set up the General Association of United Socialist Students. This united organization has doubled its membership and extended its newspaper, *Universitaire*, and has played an active

part in a number of big campaigns, in particular in the campaign of solidarity with the Spanish youth. Thus, for example, the Brussels University in its entirety—students and professors—has taken over the patronage of two children's homes in Spain; student volunteers are fighting in the International Brigades; the united students' organization has conducted a number of campaigns to collect money and food in aid of Republican Spain.

In Spain, not only were the Socialist and Communist Students united two years ago, but the National League of Spanish Students has steered a course toward the creation of a mass organization of all students who support the People's Front and the Republican government in their struggle against fascism. On July 2-4, a national conference of Spanish students took place in Valencia, which laid down the tasks facing the students in the national liberation war of the Spanish people, and declared itself in favor of the creation of a National Alliance of the Spanish youth.

In the United States of America, as a result of the fusion of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Students' League which took place in December, 1935, the foundation was laid for the organization of the whole of the progressive students in the American Student Union, which now has a membership of 30,000 students.

In other countries, for example Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, although unity has not yet been arrived at, close collaboration exists between the Socialist and Communist students enabling them to develop work among the students.

The International Congress of Socialist Students which took place at Oxford in July, 1936, in reply to the proposal of the International Commission of Communist Students to discuss the question of bringing about the international unity of all students who are champions of socialism, declared itself by an overwhelming majority in favor of the proposal. A commission consisting of three Socialist students and three Communist students was instructed to prepare the International Unity Congress which took place in Paris on July 15-18 of this year.

* * *

There were 180 delegates present at the international congress, representing the student organizations of twenty-four countries. There were delegates present from the united organizations of Spain, England, Belgium, Australia; the organizations of Socialist students in Denmark, Holland, Norway, Germany, Finland, Bulgaria, France, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Canada; organizations of Communist students in France, Denmark, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Poland Germany, Italy, Austria; the American Student Union, the United League of Socialist Students of Mexico, the Socialist students of India and Ceylon, students of Indonesia and Algiers.

Certain organizations for one reason or another did not take part in the Congress. For instance, the Socialist students of Poland limited themselves to sending friendly greetings to the Congress. The Social-Democratic students of Sweden informed the congress that their organization would come to a final decision after the results of the congress were made known. But whatever the position they adopt in Sweden toward unity, they have no objection toward the unity brought about in other countries.

The Federation of Socialist Students of France is in a special position. A year has already passed since treacherous Trotskyist elements have contrived to penetrate into this organization and even into its leadership. At the last national congress of the Socialist students (May, 1937), resolutions were passed as a result of Trotskyist influence, against the People's Front, the U.S.S.R., etc. This led to the resignation of the former secretary of the French Students' Federation. On the question of unity the Congress of Socialist students declared itself in principle in favor of bringing about organizational unity, but on condition that a so-called revolutionary program be

adopted. True, the national committee of the French Socialist youth, two weeks prior to the international congress, adopted a decision to expel the Trotskyist elements from the leadership of the Socialist youth, but at the same time this committee forbade Socialist students to take part in the international unity congress. That is why the French Socialist students were present at the International Congress in Paris only as observers.

A number of youth leagues also appointed delegates to the congress. For instance, the Young Socialist Guard of Belgium, the Socialist and Communist Youth of Italy, the United Socialist Youth of Spain. The General Secretary of the latter organization, Comrade Santiago Carillo, was given an ovation.

The congress warmly greeted the speech of Comrade Paul Boutonnier, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, who congratulated the students on their resolute step toward unity. The congress received numerous messages of sympathy from prominent scientists such as Professor Wallon, Prenant, Doctor Rouques, etc.; the congress was also welcomed by numerous student organizations, not only Socialist and Communist, but democratic and progressive as, for example, the agrarian students of Bulgaria, who expressed the hope that "the unity of Socialist and Communist students will be a serious and decisive step toward uniting progressive students throughout the world under the banner of freedom and peace."

During the first day of the congress, following a speech by Comrade Jose Alcala Zamora, chairman of the Spanish delegation, the congress sent the following telegram to Dimitroff, De Brouckere, Raymond Guyot and Ollenhauer:

"The International Unity Congress of Socialist and Communist students greets the leaders of the Labor and Socialist International, the Communist International, the Socialist Youth International, and the Young Communist International. The Congress hopes for the rapid realization of international unity of action by the working class organizations in aid of the heroic people of Spain in their struggle against world fascism.

"Signed:

JOHN MORRIS, VICTOR DUCROS."

The congress agenda included the following questions: the material conditions and future of students; the participation of students in the struggle against fascism; the participation of students in the struggle against war; the education of young intellectuals in the spirit of socialism.

Reports on these questions were made by Comrades J. Lash (United States of America), P. Lane (Belgium), J. Ewer (England), and J. Bernard (England)

The reports called forth a lively discussion. Despite certain echoes of the old sectarian approach to the students as a "reactionary mass," the overwhelming majority of speakers, both Communists and Social-Democrats (particularly the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Norway), quoted concrete examples illustrating the fact that wide sections of students can be drawn into the struggle on the side of the working people. At the end of the debate, the congress unanimously adopted a resolution laying down a general line both for Socialists and Communists in their work in the universities. Here are a few of the more important excerpts:

"The International Congress of Socialist and Communist students, assembled in Paris on July 15, 1937, at a time when tremendous danger threatens international peace and liberty, when the fate of the working class movement and of the whole of progressive mankind is at stake, declares that the only force capable of bringing about the worldwide mobilization of the wide masses of the champions of peace, progress and socialism, is a united international working class.

"The congress warmly welcomes the creation of and the successes achieved by the People's Front in France and Spain, the realization of organizational unity between the Socialist and Communist youth of Spain and Belgium.

"The most important task facing the

Socialist and Communist students is to develop a mass progressive and anti-fascist movement among students. . . . Socialist and Communist students must take an active part in the work of all student organizations. They must take an interest in the day-to-day practical problems of the students and begin a struggle in defense of their students through the students' own organizations and, in particular, through the general students' associations. They must fight to improve the material conditions of students, and in particular to afford aid to needy students, to secure reduced university entrance fees, to increase the number of scholarships, to organize students' hostels, to introduce a system of health insurance for all students, to solve the problem of unemployment among persons graduating from universities, by organizing socially useful work on an extensive scale, in order thus to win the confidence of the student masses."

The resolution also refers to the great importance in the ideological struggle against fascism for students to defend the revolutionary, democratic and cultural traditions of each people, and to conduct a struggle against their falsification by the fascists.

Concerning the struggle against fascism, the congress also directed its attention to the struggle against the Trotskyist elements, agents of fascism, whose "Left" phrases still meet with a certain echo among certain groups of Socialist students. Quoting concrete examples from the life of their organizations, many delegates laid bare the treacherous role of the Trotskyist elements who are striving to do harm to the cause of unity and the development of the mass movement among the progressive students.

In the United States of America, the Trotskyists are conducting a struggle against the American Student Union—they call it a "yellow" organization, try to prevent it from becoming an organization embracing hundreds of thousands of progressive students, and demand a return to the small sectarian organizations. The Trotskyists have conducted a campaign of slander against the United Student Peace Committee, which led the tremendous anti-war strike of American students on April 22, 1937, calling it a "tool of imperialism." At the very time when the powerful movement of the American students is breaking with the policy of isolationism, is turning more and more toward support for the policy of collective security, and is opposing the warmongers, the invasion of Spain by Italo-German fascism, and Japanese aggression in China, the Trotskyists are striving their utmost to compromise this movement for peace.

The French delegates told the congress how the Trotskyists—those allies of fascism—use demagogic slogans such as "For revolution," "For the seizure of power," to divert the student organizations away from the struggle to defend the interests and demands of the students. The Trotskyists demand that the corporative student organizations be ignored. But it was precisely because the attitude of the anti-fascist students was for a long time a negative one as regards the defense of students' interests and their corporative organizations that the fascists were able to penetrate into the French student movement and make use of it for their own reactionary purposes. At a time when the fascists are playing on patriotic sentiments, and transforming them into chauvinism, the Trotskyists are directly encouraging them by inveighing against all love of one's country and its traditions, and creating a situation which enables fascism to pose as the defender of the native land and its traditions.

The Spanish delegation told the congress of the foul activities of the Trotskyists in Spain, and of the direct aid rendered by members of the P.O.U.M. to Franco and the fascist interventionists.

Other delegates in their speeches quoted similar material.

In a general resolution the congress resolutely condemned the wrecking, Trotskyist position of sectarian isolation, condemned the theory that the students are the "barometer of the revolution."

In a special resolution on the Spanish

question, the congress demanded the establishment of international unity of action for the purpose of ensuring victory for the Spanish people; it also expressed itself resolutely in the following paragraph against the counter-revolutionary actions of the Trotskyists:

"Realizing in the light of the bloody events of Barcelona and numerous acts of treachery, that the actions of the Trotskyists and members of the P.O.U.M. in Spain are of direct assistance to Franco, in that they undermine the front of all anti-fascist forces, the congress unreservedly condemns their counter-revolutionary intrigues."

The congress was faced with the problems of unity, of creating a united international organization of all students who support socialism.

The overwhelming majority of the national sections of the Socialist students declared for the immediate achievement of organization unity on an international scale. However, four national federations of Socialist students adopted an opposite position and threatened to leave the united international organization. These were the national federations of Czechoslovakia, Holland, Denmark and France. The Swedish federation, which was not present at the congress, adopted a similar position. In these circumstances, the International Commission of Communist Students declared that since complete unity was not possible at the moment, it subscribed to the proposal of Dr. Friedlander, former president of the International Federation of Socialist Students, that an International Students' Alliance of Struggle for Socialism should be established. This proposal was accepted by the congress as well.

The alliance thus formed represents a united international center covering all organizations of Socialist students, all organizations of Communist students, and a number of autonomous national organizations. The task of the alliance are as follows:

"1. To maintain regular contact between the organizations affiliated to it for the purpose of mutual information.

"2. To help in the operation of the congress decisions in the various countries. The alliance must serve as an effective weapon for all students in the ranks of the labor movement, and that on the basis of joint action in the universities and of a common line as regards general political problems. The alliance will conduct a struggle among the student masses to improve their social and economic conditions, and for peace and liberty.

"3. To issue an information bulletin not less than four times per annum, containing articles on conditions in the universities, on the fulfilment of congress decisions and on all current questions of an organizational order; at the same time this information bulletin shall serve as a tribunal for the discussion of important theoretical problems.

"4. To assist in the mobilization of students to support for Spain and the democratic countries menaced by fascism (Czechoslovakia and others), and for the colonial people and oppressed nationalities in their struggle for national emancipation."

The alliance has a Secretariat composed of five members (two Socialists, two Communists, one non-party member) and a General Council of fifteen members (six Socialists, six Communists, three non-party members).

The Secretariat was instructed to ensure connections between the Alliance and both international working class youth organizations.

The Paris Congress thus signified an extremely important stage of the international student movement, created a united international center, turned the attention of the organizations toward mass work, gave all the students a weapon in the struggle against the influence of fascism and its Trotskyist agents among circles of young intellectuals. Thereby the congress considerably helped the development of the international unity movement of the youth and opened up before all students, champions of socialism, new prospects for drawing young intellectuals into the common cause of the struggle of the working people for their emancipation.

In Memory of Alexander Poll

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International is profoundly grieved to announce the death, after a severe prolonged illness, of Comrade Alexander Poll, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary, and representative of the Party on the E.C.C.I.

In Comrade Poll the working class of Hungary and the Communist International have lost one of their steeled fighters, tried in class battles for the emancipation of the working class and the Hungarian people from the fascist yoke.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

HIS LIFE'S JOURNEY

ALEXANDER POLL (known in the Party as Farkash) was born in Budapest on August 12, 1898, in the family of an office employee. After his father's death, being left penniless, the young Poll gave up his studies and got a job in a factory as an apprentice fitter.

Later he worked as an assistant in a bookshop. At the age of 15, Alexander Poll had already made his way to the working class movement. He fought to improve the conditions of apprentices, and in the factories organized strikes of apprentices. In 1914, while still employed in the bookstore, Alexander Poll joined a Left Socialist student circle where, during the war when the circle led an illegal existence, the young revolutionary fighter obtained his first training as an underground fighter.

In the year 1917 Poll began to supplement his illegal work with legal activities in the printing workers' trade union.

During the existence of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Poll played an active part in the Young Communist League. At that time he also worked in the People's Commissariat for Education.

After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Government, Alexander Poll was hunted by reaction and forced to emigrate like thousands of other revolutionaries. He worked in Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig and Dortmund, but never lost contact with the working class movement in his fatherland. While working in the coal mines of the Ruhr, he made an assiduous study of Marxism-Leninism.

Between 1921 and 1923, Alexander Poll fulfilled responsible Party work at times in Hungary and at times abroad. In 1923 the Party sent him to a most responsible fighting post in Hungary where he worked illegally until the year 1927. He personally organized the transport of illegal revolutionary literature into Hungary, and distributed among the masses the central organ of the Party, which at that time was printed abroad. He played a prominent role in reorganizing the trade union movement. Fascist police agents discovered him and arrested him. For about four years Poll was in a fascist prison.

Hardly had he been released than Poll immediately plunged into Party work. He led an active struggle against the traitors who as a result of the factional struggle made their way into the Party leadership and subsequently turned out to be provocateurs. Alexander Poll conducted an irreconcilable struggle against the deviationist and faction-mongers who were undermining the strength of the Communist Party of Hungary.

Between April and December, 1931, Poll worked in the Communist Interna-

tional as representative of the Communist Party of Hungary, after which he again returned to the country on leading Party work.

In Hungary at that time the courts-martial were carrying on their furious work. But this did not hinder the fearless Poll who plunged wholeheartedly into his work. Soon he was arrested again and sentenced to fifty months' hard labor. It was only in the year 1936 that our valiant comrade finished his term of punishment, and was released. And immediately this untiring fighter sought contacts with the Party and set to work. He began forthwith to make a study of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Poll rapidly understood all the tremendous importance of these decisions, which he welcomed. He knew how to give shape to the decisions for the proletariat of his country and displayed great initiative in putting them into practice. Poll fought consistently against sectarian politics and against the disorganizing activities of Bela Kun who, under the banner of pseudo-radical slogans, sabotaged the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and hindered the struggle to set up the anti-fascist front.

His many years in fascist prisons, his strenuous work in underground conditions, so weakened his organism that he was unable to overcome the sickness which suddenly attacked him. On August 6, this militant developing Party leader breathed his last. Alexander Poll died young, having honorably devoted his life to the cause of his class.

Alexander Poll was a heroic son of the Hungarian people. He was never low-spirited; he encouraged his friends in moments of weakness and trained them in strength of will. Many leaders of the Hungarian working class movement owe their first knowledge of Marxism to Poll, who in the difficult conditions of the fascist terror taught his prison-mates.

Poll was steadfast in all his speeches, which were politically well thought out, and precisely for this reason were distinguished for the assurance with which they were made. By his whole behavior he trained the comrades who surrounded him in the Bolshevik spirit. Alexander Poll never wavered on political questions, and was always bold in exposing and criticizing the actions of enemies and mistakes of friends. That is why the fascists persecuted him with such deadly hatred.

To his last breath Alexander Poll was a true Bolshevik who never forgot his obligations toward his Party and the working class. In the last moments of his life, straining his last efforts, Comrade Alexander Poll tried to rally his comrades and friends to undertake more intensive work for the cause of the Hungarian working class and Hungarian people. In his last article (which is published in the present number of our journal*) written not long before his death, Poll calls for steps to be taken to overcome as rapidly as possible the consequences of the harmful policy of the old leadership, for the establishment of the People's Front against fascism, against the fascist policy of war, for a democratic Hungary.

The working class and Communist Party of Hungary have suffered a heavy loss. The Communist International loses in Alexander Poll an ardent internationalist and fighter, loyal to the cause of Lenin-Stalin.

Hungarian revolutionaries will follow in the footsteps of Alexander Poll and rally close around the Communist Party; they will love the Party as did Alexander Poll, for whom the Communist Party—the representative of the interests of the working class and all working people—always stood above personal considerations, above personal interests.

Comrade Alexander Poll died at a moment when all the preconditions had been created for an advance by the Communist Party of Hungary—in part as a result of his own bold and persistent work. The memory of him will live forever in the hearts of the working people of Hungary, in the heart of the international proletariat.

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* See p. 714 of this issue.—*Ed.*

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